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*1903*



LIFE AND LABOUR  
OF THE  
PEOPLE IN LONDON



LIFE AND LABOUR  
OF THE  
PEOPLE IN LONDON

BY  
CHARLES BOOTH

ASSISTED BY  
JESSE ARGYLE, GEO. E. ARKELL, ARTHUR L. BAXTER,  
GEORGE H. DUCKWORTH

*Second Series : Industry*



PUBLIC, PROFESSIONAL AND DOMESTIC  
SERVICE, UNOCCUPIED CLASSES  
INMATES OF INSTITUTIONS

London  
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1903



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PART I.—PUBLIC SERVICE AND  
PROFESSIONAL CLASSES.



# PUBLIC SERVICE AND PROFESSIONAL CLASSES.

## PRELIMINARY STATEMENT.

THOSE engaged in the public service and the professions number, according to the census, 166,224 persons, their age and sex being as under :—

*Persons represented : (A) Census Enumeration.*

ENUMERATED BY AGE AND SEX.							
	10—	15—	20—	25—	55—	65.	Total.
Males .....	1,957	11,811	18,118	70,308	7,937	4,529	114,660
Females .....	602	5,725	9,299	29,391	4,305	2,242	51,564
Total .....	2,559	17,536	27,417	99,699	12,242	6,771	166,224

Over three-fourths of the women are engaged as school teachers, nurses or musicians, and in the two former occupations they greatly out-number the men. Of the 166,224 persons enumerated here 72,286 are heads of families, 63,504 being males and 8,782 females, representing a population of 326,795 souls. The average size of a family

(excluding servants) is four persons. The Police have the largest families in this section, and very much the largest number of dependents; there being very nearly three dependent persons to each family. The details are as follows :—

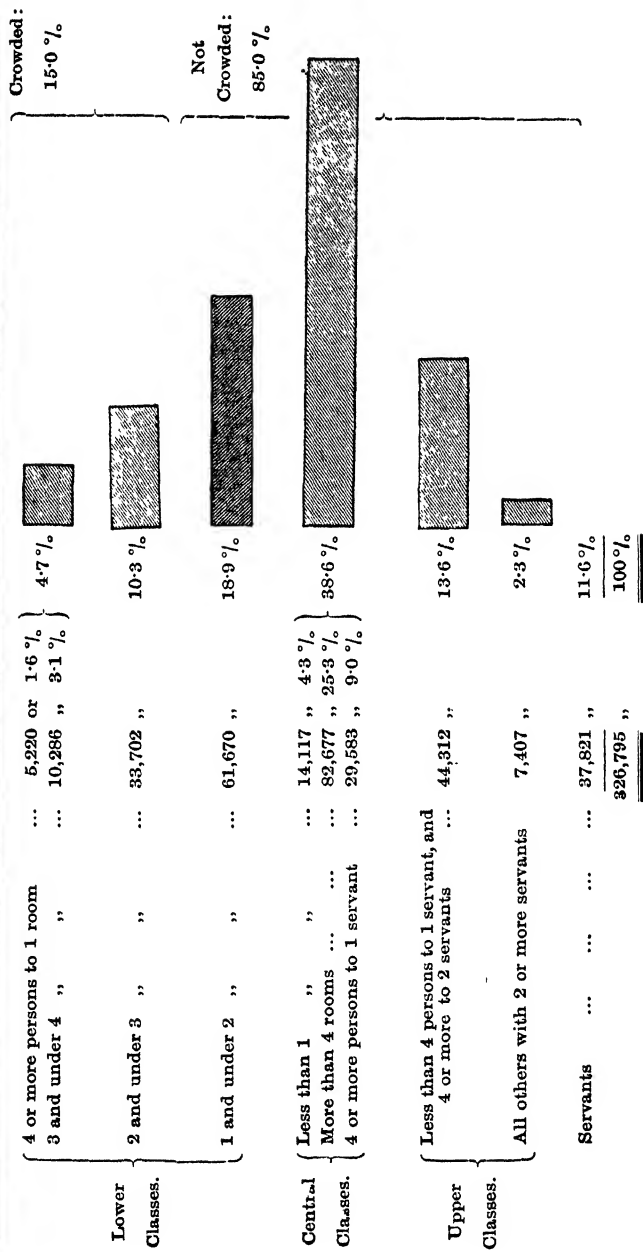
*Persons represented : (B) Enumeration by Families.*

No.	Sections.	Heads	Total numbers (excluding Servants).	Per family (excluding Servants).	Servants.
77	Civil and Municipal Service .....	13,518	58,694	4·34	4,979
78	Municipal Labour and Waterworks Service }	3,669	16,529	4·50	64
79	Police and Prisons.....	8,577	39,230	4·57	179
80	Army and Navy .....	3,867	14,318	3·71	5,653
81	Law .....	7,755	31,396	4·04	8,030
82	Medicine .....	11,028	37,771	3·42	7,759
83	Art and Amusement ...	9,968	37,053	3·71	3,069
84	Literature and Science	2,636	10,059	3·81	1,610
85	Education .....	6,540	24,689	3·77	2,648
86	Religion .....	4,728	19,235	4·07	3,830
Total.....		72,286	288,974	4·00	37,821
Servants.....			37,821		
Total population .....			326,795		

The proportion of servants is large (11·6 per cent.), 37,800 servants waiting upon 81,300 persons, or about one-fourth of the total population returned.

Of the 207,600 persons without servants, nearly 97,000 occupy more than four rooms per family, or, if under four rooms, have less than one person to a room, and 61,700 have one and under two persons per room, leaving 49,000 who are living under the more or less crowded condition of two or more persons per room. These particulars are fully set forth in the subjoined table of social classification :—

# SOCIAL CONDITION OF FAMILIES IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE AND PROFESSIONAL CLASSES.



Re-stated by sections, the following comparison is obtained :—

*Social Condition (by Sections).*

Sections.	3, 4, or more persons to a room.	2 and under 3 persons to a room.	1 and under 2 persons to a room.	Less than 1 to a room, more than 4 rooms, or 4 or more persons to 1 servant.	Less than 4 persons to a servant.	Servants.	Total.
Civil and Municipal Service } Per cent.....	2,308 3·6	6,505 10 2	13,595 21·4	30,271 47 6	6,015 9·4	4,979 7·8	63,673 100
Municipal Labour, &c. ... } Per cent.....	4,007 24·2	4,805 29 0	4,231 25·5	3,380 20·4	97 ·5	64 4	16,593 100
Police and Prisons Per cent.....	1,621 4·1	8,585 21 8	15,695 39·9	13,132 33 3	197 ·5	179 ·4	39,409 100
Army and Navy Per cent.....	697 3·5	1,382 6·9	1,677 8·4	4,099 20·6	6,463 32·4	5,653 28·2	19,971 100
Law ..... Per cent.....	653 1·7	1,440 3·6	3,926 10·0	14,686 37·2	10,691 27·1	8,030 20·4	39,426 100
Medicine ..... Per cent.....	2,008 4·4	3,744 8 2	7,029 15·5	13,426 29·6	11,564 25·3	7,759 17·0	45,530 100
Art and Amusement ..... } Per cent.....	3,077 7·6	4,670 11·7	7,757 19·3	17,188 42·9	4,361 10·8	3,069 7 7	40,122 100
Literature and Science . ... } Per cent.....	280 2·4	541 4·6	1,407 12·0	5,451 46·7	2,380 20·5	1,610 13·8	11,669 100
Education ..... Per cent.....	534 1·9	895 3·3	3,532 13·0	15,539 56·9	4,189 15·2	2,648 9·7	27,337 100
Religion..... Per cent.....	321 1·4	1,135 4·9	2,821 12·2	9,196 40·0	5,762 24·9	3,880 16·6	23,065 100

Arranged in order of apparent poverty, as indicated by the proportion living under crowded conditions, we have:—

	Crowded.
Municipal Labour and Waterworks Service	53·2 per cent.
Police, &c. ....	25·9   ,,
Art and Amusement .....	19·3   ,,
Civil and Municipal Service .....	13·8   ,,
Medicine .....	12·6   ,,
Army and Navy .....	10·4   ,,
Literature and Science .....	7·0   ,,
Religion.....	6·3   ,,
Law .....	5·3   ,,
Education .....	5·2   ,,

The changes which have taken place in the numbers since 1861 are shown in the following table:—

*Census Enumeration, 1861 to 1891, for each Section.*

	1861.	1871.	1881.	1891.
Civil and Municipal Service	18,700	21,700	20,200	27,200
Municipal Labour, &c. ....	2,200	2,400	3,500	4,900
Police and Prisons .....	6,900	9,300	10,700	12,300
Army and Navy .....	21,000	18,400	13,700	15,800
Law .....	12,100	13,800	15,300	14,600
Medicine .....	17,700	19,000	24,600	26,500
Art and Amusement .....	12,900	15,900	18,300	24,200
Literature and Science .....	1,900	2,700	3,700	4,500
Education.....	18,200	20,500	26,300	27,600
Religion.....	4,900	6,000	6,900	8,600
Total .....	116,500	129,700	143,200	166,200



# CHAPTER I.

## CIVIL AND MUNICIPAL SERVICE. (Section 77.)

### Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.					Enumerated by Families.				
Census Divisions, 1891.	Fe- males.	Males.			Total.	Sex .....	Males .....		Females .....
	All Ages.	—19	20—54	55—			13,378	140	
(1) C. S. Officers and Clerks..	1568	1625	8952	960	13,105	Birthplace {	In London ....	494 %	6899
(2) Messengers ..	127	3452	5465	538	9382		Out of London..	504 %	6819
(3) Municipal Ser- vice .....	981	85	2798	724	4538	Industrial Status ..	Employer .....	1 %	149
							Employed .....	984 %	13,236
							Neither .....	1 %	83
TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.									
TOTAL ....		2626	5182	17,215	2222	27,225			
The slight excess of youth from 15 to 20, shown on the chart opposite, is no doubt due to the number of boys employed in the Post and Telegraph Service. The deficiency in middle age is less easy to explain.									
DISTRIBUTION.									
E.	N.	W. & C	S.	Total.					
2728	7075	6796	10,626	27,225					
DETAILS OF OCCUPATIONS (FROM THE CENSUS DICTIONARY).									
(1) Officials of the Houses of Parliament, judges and officials of courts of law and public offices; heads of departments, secretaries, superintendents, inspectors, clerks, copyists, &c. in Government establishments (including Post-office and Postal Telegraph); officials in the Arsenal, Dockyard, and Mint; H. M. Court and Household, &c.						Numbers living in Families.			
(2) Government office-keeper, messenger, porter, charwoman, water-gard, water-man; letter carrier, postman, telegraph messenger.						%			
(3) Fireman, inspector of nuisances, mayor, overseer, town clerk, rate collector; work-house staff; county court officials.						East.. { Inner 3652 } 5013			
						3 or more to a room 2306 3·6			
						2 & under 3 „ 6505 10·2			
						1 & under 2 „ 13,595 21·4			
						Less than 1 „			
						More than 4 rooms } 30,271 47·6			
						4 or more persons } 4 or more persons } to a servant ..			
						Less than 4 to 1 ser- vant, and 4 or more to 2 servts. 3377 5·3			
						All others with 2 or more servants .. 2638 4·1			
						Servants ..... 4979 7·8			
						63,673 100			
						Inner. Outer. Together.			
						Crowded .. 29 % 9 % 14 %			
						Not „ .. 71 % 91 % 86 %			
						Inner 15,437, or 24 %			
						Outer 48,186, or 76 %			

## CIVIL SERVICE.

Hitherto we have been dealing with the population of London in groups of individuals who, though working under different masters, are united by membership of the same or kindred trades. The group to which we now come comprises several large and heterogeneous bodies of men, whose duties and occupations are multifarious and dissimilar, but who are united by the fact that they have but one paymaster, the State. In this section are included Civil and Municipal servants of every kind, from the Lord Chancellor and the Lady of the Bedchamber to the Telegraph messenger and the Government charwoman, and from the Lord Lieutenant and the Mayor to the bum-bailiff and the broker's man. They may be roughly grouped in three divisions corresponding to the upper, lower and middle classes of the community. In the first are the heads of the Government departments, judges, other high officials and the higher clerks, all of whom, with few exceptions, are drawn from the ranks of those who have received a long and expensive education; below these come second division and Municipal clerks and some of the superior officers in the Customs, Inland Revenue, and other departments, who, whatever their origin and education, may fairly be placed in the middle class; while the third division consists of the wage-earners, who, in the Civil Service as elsewhere, form a large majority of the total number employed.

In dealing with these various classes we shall adopt a plan somewhat different from that which we have hitherto pursued; in previous sections we have endeavoured as far as possible to give a detailed description of the work, earnings, and conditions of life of each class of the community. To do this for the Civil Service would take up more space than the subject would justify. Even to give a most

inadequate account of the duties of those who are employed at the Central Post-office would fill a large chapter, while to take a most cursory view of the position of each of the fairly compact masses of which the Service is composed would occupy little short of a volume. There is, moreover, the less need to follow our usual course, in view of the fact that the subject of this chapter is one on which those who wish for information can without much trouble find a perfect surfeit of printed matter. Not only are there several cheap handbooks which deal at length with the conditions of the Civil Service, but those who wish for fuller light can find tomes of Parliamentary Reports and papers which deal with the subject in a manner almost too voluminous. Especially we may refer to the four volumes of Reports of the Ridley Commission of 1886; not only is the evidence given before this Commission exhaustive as to the conditions of labour of the Clerical establishment and the Customs and Excise officers, but the appendices contain full and minute information as to the salaries and duties of the civil servants included in those two classes. As to the inferior grades of the service, the Commission took little evidence, but here again there are numerous Parliamentary papers dealing with office-keepers, messengers, porters, attendants and Post-office servants, while the position of the last named is at present under the consideration of a Departmental Committee, whose Report promises to be of great length. With all these sources of information open to the inquirer we shall only touch shortly on one or two points in connection with the service as a whole, and shall conclude with lists showing the rates of salaries for the four large classes into which the vast majority of civil servants fall.

The first point, perhaps, to notice with regard to the civil servant is that he is on the whole better off than the majority of workers in private employment whose position can be compared with his. In saying this, we do not wish

to imply that his salary or wages are necessarily higher than are paid for a similar class of work in the outside world; in some few cases they may be less; but taking the service as a whole not only do earnings compare favourably with outside labour, but the civil servant enjoys contingent advantages such as fall to the lot of few other members of the community.

Not only does he work for a master whose business is subject to no vicissitudes of fortune, but his security of tenure is far greater than that of the servant of a private employer; the private trader is obviously much more directly interested in the efficiency of his servants than the head of a Government department; and there is a still stronger reason which militates against the dismissal of a civil servant, and that is that heads of departments have always before them the fear that pressure may be brought to bear by Members of Parliament. The result is that a Government department is certainly more long-suffering than a private employer, and dismissal is not likely to result except from flagrant and repeated misconduct, or from the grossest incompetence. So fully is this fact recognized that clerks and some other members of the service are only placed on the establishment after a period of probation. But even this security is probably not very effective, for the Lords of the Treasury point out that "too much reliance must not be placed upon this security for obtaining competent civil servants. Heads of departments will, it must be anticipated, only refuse their certificate in cases of proved incapacity. The precaution is therefore a bar to incompetence, not a security for competence." In the case of lower division and boy clerks, however, advantage is sometimes taken of this rule to get rid of a clerk at the end of the period of probation, though in the vast majority of cases the cause assigned is bad health.

But an advantage which the civil servant enjoys, perhaps even more important than security of tenure, is regularity

of employment. For him there are no seasons of slackness ; he is free from the hateful necessity of hunting for a job, and however small his income he knows to a penny what it is and will be, and can arrange his life accordingly ; while even old age has less terror for him than for other workers, from the knowledge that at the end of his career there is a pension awaiting him.\*

The advantages which we have enumerated certainly seem to the impartial observer to place the civil servant in an enviable position compared with other workers ; but no doubt there is another side to the question, for it is impossible to blink the fact that no other class of the community are so loud or so persistent in calling attention to their grievances. The chronic agitation which exists almost throughout the service for better conditions of employment may be traced in part to the tendency of all men to magnify the importance of their position and duties, and to the opportunities open to a large and coherent body of men to use Parliamentary influence to obtain increased remuneration ; but this we think does not fully account for the activity of the various organizations which watch the interests of almost all grades of civil servants except the highest. The full and enthusiastic support which is accorded to these associations seems to show that the grievances of the civil servant, even if they are fewer and less urgent than those which beset the path of the majority of workers, are yet in themselves very real. How far they are inevitable is another question ; but the fact that the numerous commissions and committees which have sat to consider the position, either of the whole or of parts of the service, have always reported that some at least of the alleged grievances are genuine and capable of alleviation, points to the conclusion that the

\* Owing to the security of tenure and regularity of employment our classification by rooms occupied or servants kept (page 8), is probably in this case a surer index to actual style of life and more closely comparable to earnings than in any other industrial section.

widespread discontent is not altogether unfounded. At the present moment it is among the lower branches of the service that dissatisfaction is most rife. The clerical establishment, for a time at all events, has been quieted to some extent by the reforms which followed the Report of the Ridley Commission; but complaints are very loud in the Post-office and the Customs as to inadequacy of pay, length of hours, split duties extending over a very long period; stagnation of promotion; the performance of work (both inferior and superior) other than that which rightfully belongs to the particular office or grade; insanitary surroundings, &c. Whether these points can or cannot be substantiated as legitimate and remediable grievances we are unable to say, but the fact is unquestionable that the hours during which men are practically on duty both in the Post-office and the Customs are often exceedingly long, and that there are adult workers in the Post-office whose wages do not exceed 18s a week. At the same time there is no difficulty in obtaining any number of men needed on the terms and conditions offered; the cases of a voluntary relinquishment of Government for private employment are rare, and thousands of workers outside the service are certainly in a worse position as to hours and pay, so the question really is whether or to what extent it is the duty of the Government to accord to its servants exceptional treatment.

It should, however, perhaps be noticed in this connection that the civil servant is to some extent a picked man. In almost every case he is subject to an examination, either physical, educational, or both, nor can his appointment be confirmed until his character has undergone investigation and probation; he is expected, moreover, to keep up an appearance of respectability, whatever the grade to which he belongs. This fact, that civil servants are perhaps rather superior in attainments and physique to the average man, may account to some extent for their spirit of discontent; in the lower ranks a considerable proportion of

the men are probably intellectually superior to the class from which they have sprung, and in many cases it is possible that they are too highly educated to do very willingly the mechanical work which falls to their lot.

We have already noticed that the members of the Civil Service are highly organized, and below we give our usual list of associations or federations, for such are the titles which it has been found necessary to adopt in order to veil the fact that these bodies differ little from trade unions. They are, indeed, trade unions of the most aggressive type, their only object being undoubtedly to obtain better conditions of employment and higher pay, an object which they have already largely accomplished by incessant agitation. Their victories, however, have not been won without some disasters; their battles have not all been bloodless. At first they were regarded by the higher officials with undisguised hostility; attempts were made to crush them, great difficulties were placed in their way, and their members were in some cases dismissed from the service. Now they have reached the stage of being accorded generally a somewhat grudging recognition. Outwardly, perhaps, the recognition is complete; before commissions and committees the union officials are the first witnesses called, but none the less the higher officials evidently cordially dislike the whole movement, and we imagine that there is some truth in the allegation that activity in the cause of reform is a bar on the road to promotion.

Before passing to the statements of earnings, there is one other point on which we may touch shortly, and that is the efforts which have been made to find employment in the service for some of the unfortunate men who are thrown back upon civilian life after years of service in the Army or Navy. The subject is one which has been for many years under consideration; in 1876 a Select Committee of the House of Commons on "the employment of meritorious Soldiers, Sailors and Marines in civil departments of the

public service," recommended that the appointments of permanent messengers, for which soldiers and sailors appear especially suited, should for the future be exclusively made from persons who have served; and that "with reference to civil appointments made under the system of open competition, and for which soldiers and sailors are deemed to be suited, great care should be taken so to adjust the conditions of examinations as to give fair weight to those branches of knowledge in which their training has especially enabled them to make progress." In spite of these recommendations, the War Office and the Admiralty were for many years almost alone in their efforts to find places among their messengers and porters for old soldiers and sailors; in 1892, however, the Post-office made a step in the same direction, and now offers all appointments as postmen or porters, for which there are no candidates among telegraph messengers or other persons already in the service of the department, to reservists or discharged soldiers or sailors. Whilst the limits of age for others are eighteen to thirty, reservists are eligible so long as they are in the reserve, time-expired men up to thirty-two, and pensioners up to forty-five. Since 1895 other departments, at the suggestion of the Treasury, have followed suit, and it has now been arranged that "any department desiring to employ a pensioner messenger shall apply to the Civil Service Commission, who will arrange, in communication with the Admiralty or the War Office as the case may be, for the supply of a qualified candidate." It seems probable, therefore, that for the future the class of messengers and porters will generally be recruited from pensioners or reservists.

#### *Organization.*

The following Associations exist among civil servants:—

1. The Second Division Committee, as to which we can obtain no particulars.
2. The Junior Clerks' Association, which contains abstractors



and those clerks who were formerly called writers or copyists, but who are now classed under various names. They number, we believe, in all about 480, of whom some 460 are in London. About 200 belong to the Association.

3. The Customs Officers' Federation, open to examining officers and outdoor officers of H. M. Customs, founded in 1894. This Federation contains about 1200 members, of whom 400 are in London.

4. The Postal Telegraph Clerks' Association, founded in 1891, has a membership of about 6100, of whom 1900 are in London.

5. The Fawcett Association, or the Society of the Post-office Sorters, founded in 1890, has a membership in London of 2800 (3000 in all). This society is perhaps the best known of all, as having fought vigorously for the right of civil servants to take an active part in parliamentary elections, a question which led to the dismissal from the service of the president and secretary, the equivalent of their salary being now paid to them by the Association, exactly as if they were still members of the sorting staff.

6. The Postmen's Federation, founded in 1891, has 11,100 members, of whom about 3000 are in London. In connection with this society a Mutual Benefit Society was founded in 1895.

Each of the three last mentioned societies runs an official newspaper.

7. The Tracers' Association.

8. The Postal Porters' Association, founded in 1895, has over 500 members, the large majority of whom are in London.

9. The United Government Workers' Federation, founded in 1895, contains representatives from unions and bodies outside as well as inside the Civil Service. It is stated to be composed of unions or branches of unions of workers employed directly or indirectly by Imperial or municipal authorities. "The one grand object of the Federation is to force the Government of the day to be the Model Employer," and the means to this end are:—(1) the abolition of the system of contracting for Government work, (2) the establishment of a weekly minimum wage of 30s; and (3) the establishment of a State Pension Fund for the widows and orphans of men dying in the service of the Government.

Few, if any, of the above societies give benefits of any kind and the subscriptions are almost nominal. They are associations for mutual protection and for the redress of grievances.

Of Benevolent Societies there are the Customs Annuity and Benevolent Fund, the Post-office Clerks' Benevolent Fund, and the Rowland Hill Memorial and Benevolent Fund.

### *Salaries and Wages.\**

I. *Clerical Establishment*.—Clerks are divided into (1) Upper division clerks, (2) Second division clerks, (3) Abstractors, (4) Boy clerks, (5) Boy copyists.

(1) Upper division clerks are on scales of salaries which vary much in different offices; in every office, however, they are divided into three classes. In the Treasury, the most highly paid office, the scales are:—

Third Class	£200,	rising by annual increments of £20 to	£600
Second	„ £700	„ „ „ „	£25 „ £900
First	„ £1000	„ „ „ „	£50 „ £1200

In the Colonial, Home and India Offices the salaries commence at £200, and rise by annual increments to £1000; in the War Office the scale is from £150 to £900; whilst in the majority of offices the scale is from £150 (by annual increments of £15, £20, and £25) to £800. As an instance of an office at the lower scales we may give the Inland Revenue department:—

Third Class	£150, increasing by annual increments of £15 to £300, thence by £20 to	£500
Second Class	£600, increasing by annual increments of £25 to	£700
First Class	£725, increasing by annual increments of £25 to	£800

\* The details as to Civil Service salaries and wages are based on the estimates for 1895-6.

It should be noticed that private secretaryships, with extra remuneration, are open to upper division clerks, and that promotion does not necessarily stop at the highest point of the scale, as staff appointments with salaries up to £2000 are often filled from their ranks.

(2) Second division clerks are divided into a lower and a higher grade ; the scale of salary for the lower grade is as follows :—

£70,	by annual increments of	£5	to	£100
£100	„	„	£7. 10s	„ £190
£190	„	„	£10	„ £250

In the higher grade the salary is £250, increasing by £10 annually to £350.

Second division clerks are eligible for promotion to the upper division after eight years' service. The number of second division clerks is almost 3000, of whom the vastly larger proportion are in London.

(3) Abstractors, sometimes called assistant or supplementary clerks: this class includes all survivors of the large body of men who were once called writers or copyists. They number about 480, of whom about 460 are in London. The salary is £80, increasing by £2. 10s yearly to £150.

(4) Boy clerks, of whom there are about 580, nearly all in London, are paid 14s a week, rising by 1s a week each year. Boy clerks are not retained as such in the service after completing their twentieth year, but many of them pass into the second division.

(5) Boy copyists are paid at the rate of 4d per hour, with an addition of  $\frac{1}{2}$ d per hour at the end of each year of approved service. They number in all about 1000, of whom 850 are in actual employment.

The hours of clerks are with few exceptions seven a day, with a half-holiday every other Saturday.

II. *Customs and Inland Revenue*.—The Customs officers most largely represented in London are :—

- (1) Inspectors (5), with salaries from £600 to £700.
- (2) Surveyors (48), first class £490 by £15 to £550; second class £430 by £15 to £480; third class £350 by £15 to £420.
- (3) Examining officers (512), first class £230 by £10 to £340; second class £110 by £7. 10s to £220.
- (4) Outdoor officers (317), first class £85 by £3 to £160; second class £55 by £3 to £80.
- (5) Preventive officers (65), chief preventive officers £230 by £10 to £340; preventive officers £90 by £5 to £150.
- (6) Boatmen (293), £55 by £1. 10s to £80.

The Inland Revenue officers most largely represented in London are :—

- (1) Collectors of Inland Revenue (5), with salaries from £500 to £800.
- (2) Supervisors (35), with salaries from £250 to £400.
- (3) Officers (207), first class £180 by £7. 10s to £250; second class £115 by £7. 10s to £160.
- (4) Assistants of Excise (100), £50 by £5 to £80, with certain allowances.
- (5) Surveyors of taxes (39), with salaries from £200 to £600.
- (6) Assistant surveyors (22), £100 rising by £10 to £180.

III. *Post-office and Telegraphs*.—The chief bodies in the Telegraph Office are :—

(1.) Telegraphists. *Men* :—(a.) Supervisors (137) with salaries from £200 to £750. (b.) Senior telegraphists (172), £160 by £8 to £190. (c.) First class telegraphists (661), £110 by £6 to £160. (d.) Second class telegraphists (1209), who rise from 12s to 16s a week and then from £45 by £6 to £110.

*Women* :—(a.) Supervisors (67), with salaries from £100 to £200. (b.) First class telegraphists (246), 30s a week by 1s 6d to 38s a week. (c.) Second class telegraphists (555), from 10s to 14s, and then by 1s 6d a week yearly to 30s a week.

To the numbers in brackets, which represent the force at the Central Telegraph Office, must be added about nine

hundred countermen and counterwomen at other London offices.

(2.) Tube attendants (60), 18s by 1s a week yearly to 30s.

(3.) Messengers (about 3500), 7s a week by 1s yearly to 11s.

The most important bodies of men in the Post-office (under the numerous higher officials whose salaries range from £150 to £2000) are :—

(1.) Overseers :—First class (314), 56s a week by 2s to 68s. Second class (229), 40s a week by 2s to 56s.

(2.) Sorters :—First class (1256), 40s by 2s to 56s. Second class (2993), 18s by 1s to 20s and then by 2s to 40s.

(3.) Postmen :—(a.) Head postmen (122), 32s by 1s 6d to 38s. (b.) Town postmen (2946), 18s by 1s to 34s. (c.) Suburban postmen (2130), 18s by 1s to 32s. (d.) Auxiliary postmen, who are paid at the rate of 6d an hour during the day, and 8d to 9d an hour at night.

Except in the case of telegraph messengers awaiting appointment as postmen, auxiliaries are supposed to be persons having other occupations “whose total earnings both from the Department and their own affairs amount to at least 18s a week.”

Classes (a), (b), and (c) receive a boot allowance of £1. 1s a year, and about 2800 postmen receive stripe allowances of from 1s to 3s a week, a stripe and 1s extra pay a week being given for each five years of good conduct up to fifteen.

It should be noticed that the senior postmen on each round who are engaged in the delivery of letters make a considerable sum by Christmas boxes, the amount received varying from about £3 to £15 per head.

(4.) Tracers :—First class (68), 31s 6d by 1s 6d to 42s. Second class (142), 16s by 1s to 18s, and then by 1s 6d to 30s.

(5.) Storemen (55), 20s by 1s 6d to 38s, and then by 2s to 68s.

(6.) Paper keepers :—First class (13), £170 by £10 to £210. Second class (24), 50s by 2s to 65s. Third class (39), 30s by 2s to 45s.

(7.) Porters and labourers (about 650), 20s by 1s to 30s.

(8.) Bagmen (30), 20s by 2s to 38s.

There are further in the Post-office 409 female clerks on salaries from £65 to £190, and 160 female sorters with salaries from 12s to 30s a week.

IV. *Office Keepers, Messengers, Attendants, Porters, &c.*—The salaries and wages of the large number of persons included under this heading have for the most part never been placed on any fixed scale, and they vary so much from office to office that it is impossible to state them with the same definiteness as in the case of other civil servants.

Office keepers have salaries from £130 to £250.

Messengers, of whom there are a large number, begin in some cases as low as £60, but as a rule at £70, and rise by £2 or £2. 10s to £110, or in a few cases as high as £150.

Attendants include museum attendants, who are divided into first class, £105 by £5 to £120, and second class, £60 by £4 to £100; and law court attendants, who are divided into first class, paid £100, and second class 24s a week, by 2s to 30s. Ushers are paid from £100 to £120 per year.

Porters, labourers, and cleaners are paid from 18s to 36s, the vast majority receiving from 25s to 30s.

#### MUNICIPAL OFFICERS.

To deal at any length with the earnings of municipal officers, who are well above the line of poverty, is not necessary; the range of salary for similar officers is considerable, but as some indication of the rates we give the salaries of the officials in several vestries:—

Vestry clerk, £600, £550, £500, £450, £400, £325, £200.

Surveyor, £1000, £700, £650, £600, £500, £450, £400, £350, £260.

Medical officer of health, £800, £630, £500, £450, £400, £337. 10s, £280, £200.

Analyst, £400, £300, £150, £100.

Accountant, £425, £400, £350, £200, £170, £150.

Assistant clerk, £350, £250, £190, £180, £150, £130.

Assistant surveyor, £300, £200.

Assistant medical officer of health, £125, £120.

Sanitary inspector, £200, £185, £170, £150, £130, £120, £107, £100, £80 (female).

Street or road inspector, £147, £120, £115, £85, £3 a week, £2 a week.

Road foreman, £170, £182.

Inspector of nuisances, £150, £125, £116, £100, £75.

Meat inspector, £200.

Drainage inspector, £130.

Dust inspector, £100, £3. 8s a week.

Wharf superintendent, £150.

Relieving officer, £150, £140, £65 (assistant).

Clerk of works, £200, £110, £3. 15s a week.

Mortuary keeper, £96, £55, £1. 15s a week.

Hall keeper, £130, £110, £84. 10s.

Messenger, £97. 10s, £71. 10s, £2. 2s a week.

As showing what is evidently about the ordinary rate of remuneration we give in full the salaries of all the officials in one vestry with 97,845 population :—

Vestry clerk, £450.

Medical officer of health, £450.

Surveyor, £450.

Assistant clerk, £190.

Accounts clerk, £200.

First office clerk, £170.

Second office clerk, £135.

Third office clerk, £110.

Assistant surveyor, £200.

Surveyor's clerk, £140.

Junior clerk, £85.

Senior sanitary inspector, £170 with uniform.

Foreman of roads, £170 with residence, gas, &c.

Sanitary inspector, £130 with uniform.

Wharf superintendent, £150.

Board attendant and official messenger, 42s a week.

Hall keeper, £110 with residence, uniform, &c.

Assistant hall keeper, 38s per week with uniform.

Collectors of rates and taxes are paid by a commission on the sum collected, and we find that the earnings of twelve collectors in a representative London parish ranged from £222. 13s 3d to £341. 17s, but of these all but two earned over £310; in other parishes we find sums ranging from £98. 7s 11d to £420.

The London County Council employs a considerable number of inspectors and clerks, whose salaries are as follows:—

#### *Inspectors.*

I. *Under the Public Health (London) Act, 1891.*—7 inspectors: 1 at £250 a year; 6 at salaries ranging from £150 to £200 a year.

II. *Common Lodging Houses.*—1 chief inspector at salary commencing at £200 and rising by £5 a year to £250; 11 inspectors at salary commencing at £130 and rising by £5 a year to £180.

III. *Explosives, Petroleum and Shop Hours Act.*—5 inspectors at salary commencing at £150 and rising by £10 a year to £200, and after 10 years' service by £10 a year to £250.

IV. *Infant Life Protection Act.*—3 inspectors: 1 at £250 a year; 1 at £140 a year; 1 (lady) at £125 a year.

V. *Weights and Measures Acts.*—14 inspectors at salary commencing at £200 and rising by £10 a year to £250, and after 5 years' satisfactory service by £12. 10s a year to £300; 3 verification inspectors at salary commencing at £100 and rising by £5 to £150; 13 inspectors' assistants at £1. 10s a week rising by 2s a week to £2. 10s a week; 13 coal officers at salary commencing at £100 and rising after 5 years by £5 a year to £150.

VI. *Diseases of Animals Acts.*—2 inspectors of slaughter and disposal of carcasses: 1 at £150 a year; 1 at £110 a year; 12 veterinary inspectors who receive £1. 1s when engaged the



whole day of 8 hours, 10s 6d for half day of 4 hours, and for every hour beyond 8 in one day, 2s 6d.

VII. *Gas Meter Testing*.—3 chief inspectors at salary commencing at £200 and rising after 10 years by £10 a year to £250; 3 inspectors at salary commencing at £100 and rising by £5 a year to £120.

### *Clerks.*

First class (upper section), £245 rising by £15 the first year and afterwards by £20 to £300.

First class (lower section), £200 by £15 to £245.

Second class, £150 by £12. 10s to £200.

Third class, £100 by £10 to £150.

Fourth class, £80 by £5 to £100.

Boy clerks, 15s a week by 2s 6d to 30s.

If boy clerks do not pass into the fourth class by examination before the age of twenty-three their employment ceases.

*Fire Brigade*.—Included under municipal officers are firemen; the numbers of officers in the London Fire Brigade with their rates of pay are as follows:—

Chief officer, £900 with house and allowances valued at £200 a year.

Second officer, £350, rising by annual increments of £25 to £500, with house and allowances valued at £100 a year.

Superintendents (5), £195 rising by £10 a year to a maximum of £245, with free quarters, coal and gas, estimated to be worth £1 a week.

Foremen (6), £2. 16s a week, with free quarters, coal and gas, estimated to be worth 15s a week.

Engineers (65), £2. 5s a week during the first five years' service in the rank, and then £2. 12s, a week, with free quarters, coal and gas, estimated at 15s a week.

First class firemen (120), £1. 17s 6d a week; second class firemen (120), £1. 14s a week; third class firemen (321), £1. 10s a week; fourth class firemen (182), £1. 6s a week.

Pilots (17), £2. 2s a week.

Coachmen (75), £1. 8s to £1. 13s a week with free quarters.

Men under instruction (25), £1. 4s a week.

All officers are given their uniform, and receive pensions on retirement, varying from fifteen-fiftieths to two-thirds of the pay.

Every officer and fireman is allowed an annual holiday of at least one week, and leave of absence during the year to the extent of twenty-six days of twenty-four hours each. When not on leave, sick, or suspended for misconduct, a fireman is always on duty.

It may be noted that London firemen are recruited entirely from sailors, who must have spent at least two or three years on a sailing ship.

## CHAPTER II.

### MUNICIPAL LABOUR AND WATERWORKS SERVICE. (Section 78.)

#### *Persons Represented.*

Census Enumeration.					Enumerated by Families.						
Census Divisions, 1891.	Females.	Males.			Total.	Sex .....	Males .....		Birthplace {	Heads of Families, 3369.	
	All Ages.	19	20-54	55			Females.....	48 %			
(1) Waterworks & Drainage ..	10	56	967	171	1204	Industrial Status ..	Employer .....	2 %	71	781 1888	
(2) Paviers, &c.	—	88	1478	419	1985		Employed.....	96 %	3513		
(3) Scavengers, &c. ....	124	165	1044	387	1720	Neither .....	2 %	85			
TOTAL ....					134	309	3480	977	4909		
TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.											
Total ....		Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total.					
Total ....		3669	3486	9374	64	16,593					
Average in family ..		1	·95	2·55	·02	4·52					
CLASSIFICATION.						DISTRIBUTION.					
For full details see Appendix A (Pt. I.).											
DISTRIBUTION.						Numbers living in Families. %					
E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.		3 or more to a room	4007	21·2	East .. { Inner 1735 }	2406	
						2 & under 3	„	4805	{ Outer 671 }		
712	1152	1382	1663	4909		1 & under 2	„	4231	25·5	North { Inner 985 }	4134
						Less than 1	„			{ Outer 3153 }	
						More than 4 rooms	3389	20·4	West .. { Inner 460 }	3156	
						4 or more persons to a servant ..			{ Outer 2696 }		
DETAILS OF OCCUPATIONS (FROM THE CENSUS DICTIONARY).						Less than 4 to 1 ser- vant and 4 or more to 2 servts.	57	·3	Central Inner 1169	1169	
(1) Reservoir keeper, turncock, ice maker, flusher of sewers, disinfecter, flap keeper.						All others with 2 or more servants..	40	·2	South- { Inner 482 }	2697	
						Servants .....	64	·4	East { Outer 2125 }		
(2) Asphalt, stone, tar, wood pavior, street mason, roadman, picker, vestry labourer.							16,593	100	South- { Inner 1241 }	3117	
									West { Outer 1876 }		
(3) Scavenger, street sweeper, dustman, street orderly boy, fat and dust coy tractor, urinal attendant.						Inner. Outer. Together.					
						Crowded.. 64 %	47 %	53 %	Inner 6072, or 36 %		
						Not .. 36 %	53 %	47 %	Outer 10,521, or 64 %		

## MUNICIPAL LABOUR.

Those included under this heading are employed either directly by public authorities or by contractors for such authorities.

Thanks to the information obtained by the Board of Trade in 1886; to inquiries instituted by the vestries of Battersea and Paddington in 1891 and 1895; and to returns kindly furnished to us by the clerks or surveyors of the majority of vestries and local boards, we have very full details, extending over ten years, as to the wages earned by the various classes of men in their employ. We are thus able to present wage statistics more complete than usual, and to show how largely the policy of municipal authorities in London has been affected by the growing demand that public bodies should be model employers. Not indeed that the "progressive" spirit has affected all these bodies equally. The statistics of this section show indeed in a remarkable way the wide range of wages and the varying conditions of employment which may exist side by side for duties which are presumably identical.

Before dealing with the question of earnings we may notice that, though they are nominally the servants of the ratepayers, the actual master of the vestry employees is in every case the surveyor, who is responsible for the control of all labour employed, and who generally personally engages all permanent hands; the engagement of casual hands for snow-clearing or other intermittent labour is, however, usually delegated to foremen, who are also mainly responsible for deciding which among the applicants for a place shall go before the surveyor. In the vestries which pay the higher wages the number of applicants for work is enormous, and even where the wages are very low the supply of labourers is always largely in excess of the demand.

*Sweepers, Dustmen, &c.*

Though socially and financially at the bottom of the scale, sweepers and scavengers are numerically so much the most important class of municipal labourers that we shall deal with them first.

*Sweepers.*—According to the Board of Trade return the average wage of 1268 sweepers in 1886 was 19s 2d. In 1891 the range of wage for 879 as returned to the Battersea vestry was from 16s to 27s, no less than 516, or 59 per cent., earning 20s a week or less. Our return for 1171 men shows a range from 18s to 28s 3d, exclusive of overtime, which, however, is very rare. The number earning 20s or less has fallen to 187, or from 59 to 16 per cent. Only in two cases are they paid so little as 18s, while from 23s to 25s is the usual wage. According to the Paddington return of 1895 the average weekly wage, including overtime, varies from 18s to 30s. So important are these men numerically that among our wage statistics we give a separate table for them, comparing the Battersea return with ours.

In the past there has no doubt been a tendency to employ as sweepers men who could scarcely be described as able-bodied. One surveyor in his report says, "Formerly this class of work formed a halting stage on the road to the workhouse; men no longer able to work at their regular trades, worn-out servants, partially disabled men, men partially deaf, failing eyesight, subject to fits, one-armed, one-legged men, men with weak intellect; in fact, social wreckage of every description found a harbour of refuge in this work, and kept at it as long as possible in order to avoid going into the house . . . All these old men have departed this life, and as the result of the higher wages and the new rules, brought about by the agitation of the men's leaders, a different class of workmen is now engaged. At the

present minimum wage of 21s per week ordinary labourers in the prime of life are only too anxious to be on the staff, for it must be borne in mind that the said wage of 21s is regular all the year round, free from stoppage for bad weather (except under very exceptional circumstances), and on the whole is better than the intermittent 26s a week dependent on building operations. As a consequence of the best men obtainable for the wage being selected, the former class of selection has virtually to be passed over."

Even now, however, in some parishes sweepers are divided into two or even three classes, according to their ability for work, the old or less able-bodied men being paid a lower wage; but the general tendency is towards engaging only comparatively young men at a uniform rate of pay. As an example of a vestry which follows the system of a graduated wage we may instance one which at the end of 1895 carefully considered the rate of pay and classification of its sweepers, and came to the conclusion that of 181 men employed 57 were able-bodied, 85 were second class men, and 45 unfit for work. "Those who are placed in the second class," the report states, "may be regarded as still able to do a reasonable day's work, but they would not be placed in the most important thoroughfares, but rather in side streets. The third class of men comprises those who by reason of age or infirmity are unfit, and it includes several with regard to whom the vestry incurs some responsibility by allowing them to remain on the streets and so risking accidents from the traffic; and it is considered with reference to this third class of men the committee is obliged to express the conclusion that the services of these men should not be retained, but they should be allowed to drop off gradually." The wages recommended by the committee and approved by the vestry were respectively 2s (26s for a few gangers) for first class men, 21s for second class men, and 19s for

third class men. The policy pursued by this vestry has no doubt been generally followed throughout London ; under the influence of public opinion few vestries have been able to resist the demand of their sweepers for a rise of wages ; at the same time they have endeavoured to get some value for the additional expenditure, and there has been a tendency to allow the old and unfit to drop off gradually, their place being taken, if not by the young, at least by men of average vigour and with many years of work still before them. Though unpleasant, monotonous and not devoid of danger, the work is of course unskilled, and thus well suited to those who from whatever cause are deficient in energy or prefer a life free from any excessive strain. So in some cases, the sweeper is now paid a wage which is, no doubt, economically excessive ; every vestry in London could probably get an adequate supply of men to do the work for the 18s a week which is only paid in two cases. Their refusal to do so apparently meets with the approval of the ratepayers and shows how strong is the feeling in favour of paying something more than a bare subsistence wage. This policy may impart greater efficiency to the work, but it has hardly yet been appreciated that the result is to entirely exclude the class of men for whose benefit most of all the raising of the rate of pay was undertaken.

The hours of sweepers vary from forty-eight to fifty-six and a half a week, and are generally rather longer in the winter than the summer. The amount of overtime is very small, but when worked it is paid for at rates varying from 4d to 8d per hour, the usual price being 6d. What overtime there is is usually on Sunday mornings, when some of the men are not unfrequently employed for a few hours.

In the majority of parishes sweepers are given waterproof caps and capes and in some cases boots.

*Dustmen.*—Though the work of dust collecting is still not uncommonly done by contract, there are a number of dustmen employed directly by the vestries. The Board of

Trade return gives the average wage of men working by time as 18s 7d and by piece as 16s 6d, showing that payment by piece is adopted when work is insufficient to fill the whole of a man's time. In the Battersea return of 1891 the range of wage is from 16s to 24s for collectors, and from 21s to 24s for carmen. Our return shows a range from 24s to 30s for collectors and from 24s to 29s for carmen, for men who are paid by time; for piece-work at so much a load men earn sums varying from 20s to 36s. The actual amount paid in wages is now seldom less than 24s, and the average appears to be rather higher. These figures, however, do not represent the whole of the dustman's earnings; though gratuities are in almost every case forbidden, she is a bold woman who risks the cleanliness of her house by neglecting to tip the dustman, and it is of course notorious that the rule is systematically broken. To what extent the men profit thereby it is difficult to estimate: one of the questions asked in the Paddington return was "the amount the men are supposed to obtain weekly by gratuities"; the majority of the vestries simply reply that "gratuities are forbidden"; others reply "not known"; and only in one case is there a direct answer that the amount obtained is "possibly 36s per gang of three." Assuming that this estimate is not far out, we have to add about 12s to the sum paid to each man directly as wages, thus giving colour to the suggestion made by the other employees of one vestry that the dustman is the best paid of municipal labourers. The picking out of "totts," i.e. bones or other saleable articles found in household refuse, is a practice now generally forbidden.

The hours of dustmen range from forty-eight to sixty-nine a week.

*Slopmen* (whose duty it is to collect all refuse other than house refuse), unless included under roadmen or dustmen, are not mentioned in the Board of Trade or Battersea return. Their pay now ranges from 20s to 30s



a week, and according to the Paddington return their average earnings including overtime are from 24s to 32s. Hours differ little from those of dustmen, but are perhaps a little shorter.

*Attendants at underground conveniences* are paid from 18s to 28s for males and from 15s to 20s for females. The most usual wages are 25s and 18s. Their hours vary from forty-eight to sixty-one, and in almost every case they have to work at least on alternate Sundays, without additional pay, except in one case when 4s 6d extra is allowed. Some gratuities may possibly be received.

*Street Orderly Boys* earn from 6s 6d to 18s a week, according to their age, but few rise above 10s. The Board of Trade gives the average wage in 1886 as 7s, but according to our return it is now higher than this.

All the workers already enumerated are provided with uniform, or certain articles of clothing.

Without exception the scavenging occupations are unpleasant, and in one case, that of the dustman, exceedingly unhealthy; not only is he liable to inhale disease from the dust which he handles, but he must continually enter houses in which infectious disease is present.

#### *Drainage Service.*

*Sewer Flushers* are the most important class of labourers connected with the drainage service. Their work is carried on for the most part underground, and consists chiefly in the loosening of hard deposits in the sewerage and raising the penstocks or sluice gates so as to allow the water to sweep the stirred up sewage away. The men are paid from 24s to 36s a week, 30s being the usual sum. Foremen's wages rise to 45s. According to the Board of Trade, average earnings in 1886 varied from 25s to 30s.

Hours vary according as the men are working above or below ground, from thirty-four to fifty-six a week, but in few cases do they exceed fifty.

The work of sewer flushers is necessarily nauseating and unhealthy, and is at times attended with some degree of danger of positive poisoning with sewer gas. They are not legally allowed to work without a man, called a "flapkeeper," on duty at the openings by which they descend to the sewer, so that in case of danger from sewer gas help may at once be at hand.

The work of the gully cleaner or gullyman, though less so than that of the sewer flusher, is still dangerous and unpleasant. His duty is to empty the gullies, using a long pole with a bowl or cup attached to it; but he never has to go underground. His wages range from 23s to 30s, the majority earning between 24s and 27s.

*Urinal Flushers* are paid from 21s to 30s; 24s is the most usual wage, and few go above 27s.

The Board of Trade gives the average wage of the above two classes as 22s 5d in 1886, but it is certainly higher now.

The hours of gully cleaners and urinal flushers range from forty-eight to sixty.

*Disinfectors* earn from 21s to 35s; but few more than 30s or less than 25s; 25s, 27s and 30s are common wages. The Board of Trade gives the average rate in 1886 as 28s 4d, and it does not appear to be much higher now. Their hours when defined range from forty-eight to fifty-eight and a half, but in many cases they are indefinite.

Drainage workers of all classes are provided with at least partial uniform.

### *Paviors, &c.*

Though he works on the same material, the street mason is a workman of a somewhat different class to the stonemason. The work of the former is very quickly and easily learnt, and he does not conform to the conditions of employment recognized and enforced by the Operative Stone-

masons' Union, who refuse to admit street masons to their society. The ranks of street masons and paviors are recruited from labourers, and to ordinary labouring work they are no doubt always ready to turn when work is slack in their own line.

The work of the street mason is confined to the footway; that of the pavior to the carriage way; and when the word pavior is used without further addition it is understood to refer to those who cut and lay stone blocks. With the introduction of wood and asphalte paving these men are a rapidly decreasing body, and many of them have sunk back into the ranks of general labour.

Until recently nearly all the paving of London was done by contractors, and even now they probably employ more hands than the vestries, but the practice of direct employment is rapidly increasing.

The wages of masons and paviors are almost invariably reckoned by the hour at rates varying from 7*d* to 9½*d*; the most usual rate is 9*d*. Their earnings under the vestries range from 26*s* to 42*s* a week, being as a rule rather larger in the summer than in the winter. Though the rate paid by contractors is seldom if ever less than 9*d* per hour, men who work for them earn considerably less, if the year be taken right through, than vestry employees. Contractors generally dismiss their men at the end of each job, while the vestries for the most part keep them on as permanent hands, and employ them in stone-dressing and other tasks in the yard when not actually engaged in the streets.

According to the Board of Trade the average wage for time-workers among street masons in 1886 was 38*s* 4*d*, and for piece-workers 34*s*, while the average rate for paviors was 36*s* 5*d*. The Paddington return gives average earnings including overtime ranging from 26*s* to 42*s* in summer, and from 2*s* to 38*s* in winter. Judging from these figures the wages of these men do not seem to have

risen in the same proportion as those of other municipal employees. They were already fairly high, this being probably due to the fact that they have for many years been to some extent organized, while organization among other street workers is of quite recent growth.

Masons' and paviors' labourers are paid from  $5\frac{1}{2}d$  to  $7d$  an hour, the usual sum being  $5\frac{1}{2}d$  or  $6d$ . At these rates their earnings range from  $21s$  to  $29s$  a week. The Board of Trade gives the average rate for masons' labourers in 1886 as  $24s\ 4d$ , and for paviors' labourers as  $24s\ 11d$ , but according to the Paddington return it is now higher.

*Rammersmen*, who work with paviors and whose duty it is to ram down stones with a large wooden club or rammer, earn from  $21s$  to  $35s$  a week, but few less than  $30s$ .

*Asphalte and Wood Paviors* are not generally employed directly by the vestries, but by companies who do the work under contract. The men employed earn generally from  $27s$  to  $42s$  a week. Among asphalte workers are a number of Italians, though it seems not so large a proportion as personal observation would lead one to suppose; the total number of them is said to be only from 10 to 15 per cent. of the men engaged in the work. It is only the actual work of laying the powder which is performed by Italians; the Englishman apparently cannot be induced to undertake this work, alleging, no doubt truthfully, that the heat brings the skin off his feet. We are assured, however, that the feet soon get hardened, and that it is the conservatism of the English working man which prevents him from trying this work. The Italians, however, are said to be extraordinarily willing and industrious, and so keen to increase their earnings that on Sunday many of them employ themselves in selling ice cream.

The hours of masons, paviors and their labourers under the vestries range from forty-eight to sixty. Asphalte paviors work from fifty-seven to sixty-six hours.

# Hours and Wages of Men Employed by Metropolitan Vestries, &c.

	Sweepers.		Pickers.		Dustmen.		Slopmen.		Masons.		Paviors.		Masons' and Paviors' Labourers.		Sewer Flushers.	
	Hrs.	Wages.	Hrs.	Wages.	Hrs.	Wages.	Hrs.	Wages.	Hrs.	Wages.	Hrs.	Wages.	Hrs.	Wages.	Hrs.	Wages.
Vestry 1. Summer	36	18/-	56	20/-	69	21/3	68	24/-	56½	37/8	56½	33/-	56½	21/-	35	28/- to
Vestry 2. Winter	53½	18/- to 23/-	53½	22/- to 30/-	67½	21½	67½	24/- to 26/-	53½	35/8	53½	28/-	53½	—	35	44/-
Vestry 3. Summer	51	20/-	51	28/-	51	22/-	51	20/-	—	—	—	—	—	—	40 to 56	24/- to 28/-
Vestry 4. Winter	53½	20/- to 21/-	53½	26/-	58½	20/-	58½	20/-	56½	37/3	56½	37/3	56½	22/11	56½	28/- to 32/6
Vestry 5. Summer	53	21/-	53	Piece-work	58½	22/- and 24/-	63	26/-	56½	42/5	51	42/5	51	28/-	51	30/-
Vestry 6. Winter	54	20/9 to 23/4	56	26/-	—	—	62	—	56½	42/-	56½	42/-	56½	28/-	51	30/-
Vestry 7. Summer	54	20/- and 23/4	48	25/8	56½	24/-	—	—	48	32/8, 37/4, 42/-	48	42/-	48	28/-	—	—
Vestry 8. Winter	50	23/4 to 24/-	50	27/-	53½	24/-	53	24/-	51	—	53½	—	53½	—	—	—
Vestry 9. Summer	53	21/-	53	27/6	53	24/-	53	30/- to 32/-	56½	38/-, 40/-, 42/-	51	40/-	56½	21/- to 27/-	48	27/- to 29/-
Vestry 10. Winter	51	22/-	51	24/-	43	—	56½	28/6	56½	40/9	53½	40/9	53½	25/-	48	—
Vestry 11. Summer	58½	22/6	52½	26/9	—	—	51	—	56½	38/7	56½	38/7	56½	26/9	56	30/-
Vestry 12. Winter	56	23/-	—	—	—	—	—	—	50½	40/-	50½	40/-	50½	31/6	51	30/-
Vestry 13. Summer	57½	23/-	—	—	71½	33/-	69	30/-	56½	40/6	56½	40/6	56½	24/-	48	30/-
Vestry 14. Winter	55	24/-	50½	24/-	69	—	50½	24/-	51	38/-	50½	38/-	50½	—	—	—
Vestry 15. Summer	46	22/- to 26/-	58½	24/- to 26/-	46	—	—	—	46	—	46	—	46	—	—	—
Vestry 16. Winter	53½	21/- to 24/-	53½	26/-	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Vestry 17. Summer	51	24/-	51	24/-	59	24/-	51	25/- to 27/-	56½	41/-	56½	41/-	56½	27/3	—	—
Vestry 18. Winter	53½	19/- to 24/-	53½	24/-	59	—	51	—	56½	36/-	51	36/-	51	24/-	—	—
Vestry 19. Summer	53½	21/- to 28/-	48	21/- to 28/-	53	21/- to 28/-	53	21/- to 28/-	48	39/-	48	39/-	48	26/-	34	35/-
Vestry 20. Winter	53	28/-	48	28/-	58	28/-	58	28/-	—	—	—	—	—	—	34	—

[illegible]

*Road Labourers.*

Of those who are included under road labourers, the most important are pickers, men that is who loosen the roads with a pick. They are paid from  $5\frac{1}{2}d$  to  $6\frac{1}{2}d$  per hour, from  $3s\ 4d$  to  $4s\ 8\frac{1}{2}d$  per day, and in several vestries weekly wages of from  $20s$  to  $25s$ . Their earnings range from  $20s$  to  $29s$  a week. The Board of Trade gives the average wage of gangers in 1886 as  $24s\ 3d$ , and of men as  $22s$ . Our return and that of Paddington show that few now earn less than  $25s$  a week.

The hours of road labourers range from forty-eight to sixty.

We have now mentioned the principal municipal employees who are included in this section, and in order to show in a more graphic form the great range of wage and hours which prevails in the different vestries for identical duties we give on the two preceding pages (36 and 37) a complete tabular statement as to the various classes of men who are most largely represented.

The divergency in regard to prevailing conditions of work and remuneration in different vestries is seen in a very marked way if we compare Nos. 1, 36,\* and 37 of this table :

		Sweepers.		Pickers.		Dustmen.		Slopmen.	
		Hours.	Wages.	Hours.	Wages.	Hours.	Wages.	Hours.	Wages.
No. 1	Summer	56 $\frac{1}{2}$	} 18/-	56 $\frac{1}{2}$	} 20/-	69	} 21/3	68	} 24/-
	Winter	53 $\frac{1}{2}$		53 $\frac{1}{2}$		63 $\frac{1}{2}$		62 $\frac{1}{2}$	
No. 36	Summer	48	} 25/-	48	} 25/-	48	} 26/-	48	} 27/-
	Winter	48		48		48		48	
No. 37	Summer	56 $\frac{1}{2}$	} 28/3	56 $\frac{1}{2}$	} 28/3	56 $\frac{1}{2}$	} 30/-	56 $\frac{1}{2}$	} 29/3
	Winter	48		48		48		48	

\* Since this was written No. 36 has raised the wages of nearly all employees. •

		Street Masons.		Paviors.		Masons' Labourers.		Paviors' Labourers.	
		Hours.	Wages.	Hours.	Wages.	Hours.	Wages.	Hours.	Wages.
No. 1	Summer	56½	37/6	56½	33/-	56½	} 21/-	56½	} 21/-
	Winter	53½	35/6	53½	28/-	53½		53½	
No. 36	Summer	50½	39/7	50½	39/7	50½	27/1	50½	29/2
	Winter	48	36/7	48	36/7	48	25/-	48	27/-
No. 37	Summer	56½	42/5	56½	42/5	56½	} 28/3	56½	} 33/-
	Winter	48	36/-	48	36/-	48		48	

### *Regularity.*

The returns made to us show that the regularity of employment among ordinary hands is in the majority of the vestries very great; in few cases do the numbers employed in summer and winter differ. Several vestries employ fewer pickers in the winter, but generally the full numbers are kept on throughout the year, and when their ordinary work of lifting roads is rendered impossible by frost they are put to other tasks such as ballasting roads, snow-cleaning, &c. Among masons and paviors and their labourers the number engaged in the summer is in some vestries slightly in excess of the winter, but taking London as a whole the number of men employed by municipal authorities is probably larger in the winter than the summer; not only are more hands required in slopping, but several vestries endeavour as far as possible to make work for the unemployed. One vestry which at the time of our inquiry (December, 1895) was employing 151 masons, timbermen, rammermen and labourers, says "this shows the actual number of men at present employed, but this will vary considerably, probably increasing during the next four weeks, the vestry having ordered a large number of works to be carried out during the winter months to find employment for men who would be otherwise out of work." Another vestry reports that on November 6th, 1894, "the register of the unemployed who applied at the



vestry's depôt was taken and continued until February 14th, a total number of 1288 names being registered, and of this number 1066 received two days' employment. On February 25th the register was again commenced, and 350 received a further two days' work. The numbers do not include those who were put on at times of snowfall." Yet another vestry gives a table showing that at one time during the winter of 1894-95, 101 unemployed men were engaged in various works in the parish. A fourth vestry reports that between January 11th and March 30th, 1895, 222 men had one day's work, 239 men two days' work, 161 men three days' work, 211 men four days' work, 210 men five days' work, 47 men six days' work, 71 men seven days' work, and 111 men eight days' work. But in addition to work which is started especially for the benefit of the unemployed, the vestries are the principal extra source of casual employment during the winter; there are few spells of severe frost without at least one heavy fall of snow, the removal of which necessitates a large amount of additional labour. Thus we find that in 1895, between January 13th and February 2nd, 3271 extra men were employed in one parish; in a second, 2864 extra men were put on at 6d an hour and received among them £570. 16s 6d; in a third, 2090 were employed at the same rate. These examples taken from only a few vestries show that the sum expended by municipal authorities throughout London on additional labour during the winter must be considerable. But if the vestries generally employ as many (or more) hands in the winter as in the summer, the opposite no doubt is the case with the contractors who do so much of the paving work of London. Few of the large contractors have responded to our request for information, but it requires nothing more than observation to assure one that the number of men employed in street paving during the summer and autumn months is largely in excess of the number in winter. How large the difference probably is may be judged from the

statement made by the secretary of a wood paving company that on the average they employ five hundred more men in the summer than in the winter.

### *Holidays, Sick Pay, &c.*

The widely different conditions prevailing amongst the employees of municipal authorities as to hours and wages extends to other matters. Of thirty-four vestries and other bodies from whom we have information as to holidays, only one gives none; including Good Friday, Christmas Day, and Bank Holidays one gives two days, (being Good Friday and Christmas Day), one three days, two four days, four six days, one eight days, four nine days, one ten days, and sixteen twelve days, in every case with full pay.

In regard to sick pay, we have answers from thirty-one vestries, and only three make no contribution towards the help of men in sickness, unless caused by accident at work; of the others, one allows 15s for thirteen weeks, and 7s 6d for a further thirteen weeks. In about sixteen cases half-pay is allowed either for a fixed time or at the discretion of the vestry; in some vestries each case is dealt with on its own merits, while in others there is a sick fund to which the vestry contributes varying sums.

One vestry (No. 37) has started a pension scheme for its men; those who have been employed by the vestry for not less than ten years, who are members of a friendly society and whose conduct has been good, are superannuated on the following scale:—

After ten years and up to fifteen, 7s 6d per week; after fifteen years and up to twenty, 10s per week; after twenty years and up to twenty-five, 12s 6d per week; twenty-five years and upwards, 15s per week.

*Organization.*

The workers in this section are organized in the National Municipal Labour Union, which has about forty branches in London, and one or two others which, though beyond our boundary, are within the Metropolitan Police District. The membership is about 4500. The entrance fee is 1s, and subscription 2d a week. The union gives death benefits and legal aid in case of accident.

The objects of the union are:—

(1.) To secure the following rates of pay:—

Street masons and paviors	... ..	42s per week.
Rammermen	... ..	33s „
Flushers, sewermen, and penstock keepers	... ..	36s „
Disinfectors	... ..	30s „
Pickers, carmen, and sweepers	... ..	30s „
Watchmen	... ..	4s 6d per night.

Mechanics and skilled workmen to receive the trade union rate of wages paid in the respective trades to which they belong.

(2.) That all men receive a weekly wage and be considered as weekly servants, and be expected to give and entitled to receive a week's notice when leaving their employment.

(3.) Overtime and Sunday work to be given to men casually employed or who have not made a full week.

(4.) That all work be done without the aid of a contractor.

(5.) An appeal to the vestry in case of discharge by the surveyor.

(6.) An annual summer holiday of not less than one week without loss of pay.

There is further the Foot and Carriage Way Masons'

Trade Union, which is now in a decadent condition, containing only thirty-three members. This is an offshoot from an older society (now dead) called the Street Masons' and Paviers' Society.

### WATERWORKS SERVICE.

A very large majority of those employed by water companies appear in the Census either under other trades or in the general labour section. Of those who are properly included here far the largest number are turncocks, of whom foremen are paid from 35s to 50s a week, while ordinary turncocks earn from 20s to 30s 6d. Waste inspectors receive from 25s to 30s, reservoir keepers from 25s to 35s, and meter readers from 30s to 35s, whilst inspectors of fittings also get from 30s to 35s.

Nearly all the above are supplied with livery, and in some cases with a house or rooms in the companies' premises at a low rent.

The hours are for the most part indefinite, and men generally have to work on Sunday when required.

We have not been able to obtain any recent figures as to regularity of employment, but the inquiries of the Board of Trade in 1886 showed that seven companies employed 1345 men in their largest, and 1118 men in their smallest week. The irregularity is, however, entirely among the general labourers; all waterwork employees who are included in this section are permanent servants.

### *Wages Statistics and Social Condition.*

The Census gives 4466 adult males as employed in this section in 1891. The Battersea return of numbers and wages, made in the same year, shows 3635 men as employed directly by municipal authorities, and our return for 1895 increases

the number to 3914. We place side by side the two returns for purposes of comparison :—

Amount.	Battersea Return (1891).	Our Return (1895).*
Below 20s.....	732 or 20 per cent.	189 or 5 per cent.
20s to 25s.....	2,129 „ 58½ „	1,156 „ 29½ „
25s „ 30s.....	513 „ 14½ „	1,830 „ 46½ „
30s „ 35s.....	147 „ 4 „	508 „ 13 „
35s „ 40s.....	55 „ 1½ „	117 „ 3 „
40s „ 45s.....	22 „ ½ „	87 „ 2½ „
45s and upwards...	37 „ 1 „	27 „ ½ „
	3,635 „ 100 „	3,914 „ 100 „

The all-round improvement in four years shown by these figures is certainly remarkable. Whereas in 1891 there were 21 per cent. earning below 20s, there are now only 5 per cent., and those receiving between 20s and 25s have decreased, roughly speaking, by one half. On the other hand, the numbers earning from 25s to 35s have increased more than three-fold.

Dealing with the sweepers separately, the increase is even more striking :—

Amount.	Battersea Return (1891).	Our Return (1895).
Below 20s.....	258 or 29½ per cent.	150 or 13 per cent.
20s to 25s.....	584 „ 66½ „	424 „ 36 „
25s and upwards...	37 „ 4 „	597 „ 51 „
	879 „ 100 „	1171 „ 100 „

The effect of these changes should undoubtedly be an improved style of life since the date of the last census, and it will be interesting to see, when the next decennial enumeration takes place, how far the increased wage is reflected in the greater comfort of the home. That there

\* Our return includes some small classes of men who are not given in the Battersea return, but this difference does not materially affect the comparisons.

is ample room for improvement is evident from the 1891 return of rooms occupied, &c., which we restate for comparison with the wages statistics of that year:—

*Comparison of Earnings with Style of Life (Municipal Labour).*

<i>Earnings as returned.</i>	<i>Classification of Population.</i>
Below 20s.....732, or 20 %	3 or more to a room, 4,000 or 25 %
20s to 25s..... 2,129 „ 58½ „	2 & under 3 „ 4,800 „ 30 „
25s „ 30s.....513 „ 14½ „	1 „ 2 „ 4,250 „ 27 „
30s „ 35s.....147 „ 4 „	Less than 1 „
35s „ 40s..... 55 „ 1½ „	More than 4 rooms
40s „ 45s..... 22 „ ½ „	4 or more persons
45s and upwards... 37 „ 1 „	to a servant
3,635 „ 100 „	2,800 „ 18 „
	15,850 „ 100 „
	Families of employ- ers, those returned as neither employ- er nor employed, and servants
	750
	16,600

We have here, as might be expected, close correspondence between great crowding and earnings below 20s a week (21 per cent. against 25 per cent.), but we have only 30 per cent. living from 2 to 3 to a room, as compared to 58½ per cent. whose wages were between 20s and 25s. Midway between these two rates lies, apparently, the line of poverty in this section, as exemplified by conditions of crowding.

*SOLDIERS AND POLICE.*

*Persons Represented.*

Census Enumeration.					Enumerated by Families.				
Census Divisions, 1891.	Fe- males	Males.		Total.	Sex .....	Males .....		Females .....	Total
	All Ages.	19	20-54			55	In London ....		
(1) Police.....	17	32	11,719	99	1,867	Industrial Status ..	Employer .....	—%	11
(2) Prison officer	84	--	279	37	400		Employed.....	100	%
						Neither .....	—%		11
TOTAL ....	101	32	11,593	136	12,267				

The diagram shows that the age for active service is between 20 and 40, the numbers being greatest at 30 and falling very rapidly to 50. All the females, save 5 over 65 years of age, are between 20 and 34 years old. The 5 are in the prison service.

**TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.**

	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied	Servants.	Total.
Total ....	8577	3279	25,374	179	30,109
Average in family..	1	'62	2'96	'02	4'60

DISTRIBUTION.

E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
1432	2706	4399	3730	12,267

DETAILS OF OCCUPATIONS  
(FROM THE CENSUS DICTIONARY).

- (1) Police commissioner, superintendent, inspector, sergeant, constable, detective (excluding railway and dock police), police-court keeper, criminal investigator.
- (2) Governor, matron, clerk, gaoler, warder of prison or reformatory school; woman searcher.

**CLASSIFICATION.**

For full details see Appendix A (Part I).

DISTRIBUTION.

Numbers living in Families.		%		
3 or more to a room	1021	4.1	East.. { Inner 3484 } { Outer 1205 }	4719
2 & under 3	8585	21.8		
1 & under 2	15,695	39.8	North { Inner 2180 } { Outer 6728 }	8908
Less than 1				
More than 4 rooms	13,132	33.3	West { Inner 2052 } { Outer 5850 }	7902
4 or more persons				
to a servant ..			Central Inner	4280
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servts.	129	.3	South- { Inner 1275 } East { Outer 4396 }	5671
All others with 2 or more servants ..	68	.2	South- { Inner 3523 } West { Outer 4376 }	7890
Servants .....	179	.5		
	39,400	100		39,400
Inner. Outer. Together.				
Crowded..	34%	20%	Inner 16,794, or 43%	
Not ..	66%	80%	Outer 22,615, or 57%	

## POLICE AND PRISON SERVICE.

The Metropolitan police force was established in 1829, as was also the City police. These two organizations divide the London area between them. The City police, numbering 1018, are responsible for the City "and its liberties"; and the Metropolitan police, with 15,216 men, undertakes the surrounding district within a radius of fifteen miles from Charing Cross, thus including not only suburban London, but places as detached and populous as Bromley, Croydon, Kingston-on-Thames, Enfield, Walthamstow, and West Ham. The force has also since 1860 provided constables for special duties at Royal palaces, dockyards, and Government establishments outside of the Metropolitan area. Deducting these men, and adding in the City police, we have in all 14,500 men available for ordinary police duties in an area of nearly seven hundred square miles, with a rateable yearly value of more than £42,000,000. Of London itself the annual rateable value is about £34,000,000, with an area of 118 square miles, and the proportion of police employed in this smaller district is about 11,500, or including the men detailed for special service something over 12,000 all told.\*

A policeman is liable to duty at any time in the twenty-four hours, but the time spent regularly on his beat is only eight hours out of the twenty-four, being either two watches of four hours in the daytime, between 6 A.M. and 10 P.M., or one period of eight hours in the night, between 10 P.M. and 6 A.M. Night and day duty are shared in rotation. The hours on beat do not by any means include all the time ordinarily occupied, as a constable has to attend the court as required, and is expected to work up his cases, and on extraordinary occasions, when a larger force than usual is

\* Of the twenty-three Metropolitan police divisions, eleven, with a strength of 5849 men, are entirely within the London boundary, while the districts of the other twelve, with 8413 men, are partly within and partly without the area.



needed in the streets, he may be kept on duty for many extra hours. Otherwise it would appear as a general rule that one-third of the whole force is on, and two-thirds off, duty at any one time. This, however, is not exactly the case, as a certain number of constables are detailed for special duties as "patrols," who are out from 5 P.M. to 1 A.M. or 6 P.M. to 2 A.M., or as "point" police (being men stationed at convenient places ready to respond to calls from the public or the men on the adjacent beats) whose work falls also in the evening hours, finishing alternately at 9 P.M. and 1 A.M. The result of this arrangement is to provide extra force during the evening and midnight hours, when the ordinary day's work being over, and the population on pleasure bent, order is most liable to be disturbed. This applies principally to the Metropolitan police. In the City it is different, as there the day work is the heaviest, and a number of men are specially employed to direct the traffic.

The policeman's work varies greatly according to the district in which he is stationed. In a suburban neighbourhood, except for occasional disturbances, the duties are not heavy, but tedious, and the prolonged walking, even at the regulation pace, is wearying to the feet. The ordinary policeman must constantly perambulate his beat, visiting every street and entry. At night he examines the fastenings of windows and doors, marks entrances so that he can tell whether they have been visited in the intervals of his round, and walking silently in the shadows of the houses comes upon the belated pedestrian with startling suddenness. In busy neighbourhoods the strain is greater, especially upon those engaged in regulating vehicular traffic, for whom special reliefs are found necessary. "When in doubt ask a policeman" is a rule largely adopted by visitors to the Metropolis, and, bombarded by a series of not always coherent questions, the London constable almost invariably succeeds in giving courteous replies. In spite of an

occasional pomposity of manner, he compares favourably with the police of some other cities.

In addition to their primary duties—the prevention of crime and the detection of offenders—the police have been charged with the enforcement of special laws and other obligations for which their wide-spread organization and exact local knowledge fit them. They deliver magistrates' orders and serve summonses. In 1894 the Metropolitan police served 87,783 summonses applied for by private individuals, and 14,371 taken out officially. The Licensing department examines and licenses hackney carriages, omnibuses, and tramcars, and issues the licences to the drivers and conductors. Nearly 30,000 articles left in these vehicles during 1894 were dealt with by the Lost Property Office. By the Army Act (1881) the police act as billet-masters and provide billets for soldiers when called upon by the military authorities, while the Army Enlistment Act requires them to serve within their districts all notices relating to the Reserve Forces when desired to do so by the Secretary of State. They have to see that public-houses are properly conducted during the day and closed during the prohibited hours; that bicycle lamps are lighted at the proper time and kept alight; they have to look after stray and unmuzzled dogs, and to assist sheriffs' officers and county court bailiffs. Additional duties are imposed under the Public Health Act, the Explosives Act, the Pedlars, the Gun Licence, the Contagious Diseases (Animals), the Vagrancy, and other statutes too numerous to mention.

Neither Sundays nor other public holidays are times of rest for the police, but on Sundays the number of men on duty is reduced. One day off in fourteen is allowed, and this should fall on a Sunday once in four weeks, and after twelve months' service in the Metropolitan and eighteen months' in the City police, sergeants and constables have a week or ten days, and inspectors two or three weeks' leave annually.

The scale of pay is higher in the City than with the Metropolitan police and was raised for both forces in 1890. In the City the pay for constables begins at 25s and rises gradually till it reaches 36s 3d at the end of six years. Sergeants commence with 41s 5d and rise to 45s 3d. For inspectors 57s 6d is the minimum. In the Metropolitan force the pay at first is 24s and rises to 32s in eight years. Sergeants start at 34s and rise to 40s. Station sergeants begin at 45s. Inspectors begin at 56s.\* Compared with the old scale these rates show an advance for the constables of 4s 9d on the maximum in the City, and 2s on the maximum in the Metropolitan force. At nearly every stage towards the maximum rather more is paid than formerly.

Particulars of the number of men of each rank, with the proportion at each rate of wages, are given below :†—

Weekly Rate.	Inspectors.	Sergeants.	Constables.	Total.	Per cent.
75s and over .....	74	—	—	74	·4
70s and under 75s .....	111	—	—	111	·7
65s „ 70s .....	10	—	—	10	·1
60s „ 65s .....	190	—	—	190	1·2
55s „ 60s .....	167	15	—	182	1·1
50s „ 55s .....	1	32	—	33	·2
45s „ 50s .....	44	379	—	423	2·6
40s „ 45s .....	25	609	—	634	4·0
35s „ 40s .....	13	697	853	1,063	6·6
30s „ 35s .....	5	162	7,656	7,823	48·9
25s „ 30s .....	—	—	4,595	4,595	28·3
24s .....	—	—	946	946	5·9
	640	1,894	13,550	16,084	100

\* There is one curious exception. The Act of Parliament does not give police officers of lower rank than inspector authority to board vessels. Consequently in the Thames division “inspectors” are provided for each police boat. The pay of these men is the same as that of sergeants in any other division, and 27 per cent. of the force are inspectors in place of 4 per cent. elsewhere.

† Compiled from information kindly furnished by the Commissioner of City police, and from the annual statement of accounts for the Metropolitan police (1894-5).

The effect of the revised rates of pay upon the men's earnings is shown by the fact that of the 14,696 men composing the two forces in 1886, 6945, or 47 per cent., earned under 27*s* 6*d*, compared with 22½ per cent. in 1895, while 5833, or 40 per cent., earned 27*s* 6*d* and under 32*s* 6*d*, compared with 58½ per cent. in 1895.

In addition to their nominal wages, various allowances increase the real earnings of the police. All are supplied with uniform clothing and boots, or a money allowance instead. Men living in the stations receive a small allowance of coals, and other men 3½*d* or 4*d* a week as an equivalent. Special duties also carry extra pay. Men employed at public buildings, &c., receive about 1*s* a day and those engaged in regulating the street traffic 1*s* to 2*s* 6*d* a week in addition to their regular money. The reserve men, a selected body in each division, wearing the letter *R* on their collars, receive 1*s* 6*d* extra a week. Superannuation also must be counted as a benefit, for the deduction of (at most) 2½ per cent. from the wages does not nearly provide the pension of two-thirds pay to which the men are entitled after twenty-six years' service.

Other legitimate though unrecognized emoluments come in return for occasional small services rendered, as for instance that of calling workmen in the morning. That there may be some illegitimate sources of profit of which a few of the men do not scruple to avail themselves, is we fear indisputable, but we have no right or reason to suppose that such practices are widespread, and in considering the average earnings of policemen, we do not take them into account. As a rule the men are now satisfied with their lot; the policeman's position, if indeed "not a happy one," is equal to that of most skilled workmen, and the proportion of voluntary resignations is less than 1 per cent. per annum.

The following table shows the length of service of the men employed in the Metropolitan force, December 31st, 1894:—

	Superintendents.	Inspectors and sub-inspectors.	Sergeants.	Constables.	Total.
Over 30 years.....	12	6	5	7	30
20 years and under 30	19	319	888	1,290	2,016
10   "   "   20	—	255	1,243	3,887	5,385
5   "   "   10	—	8	173	3,252	3,433
Under 5 years .....	—	—	5	4,250	4,255
Total.....	31	588	1,814	12,686	15,119

This table indicates clearly the course of promotion from grade to grade, length of service being an important element in a man's chances. An officer is seldom advanced into a higher grade until he has reached the maximum pay of the preceding class. General ability, however, tells, and a strict record is kept of each man's career, with the result that every breach of regulations, or other fault, remains in evidence and retards advancement. To obtain the rank of sergeant in the Metropolitan police, a constable must pass the police board and also the civil service commissioners, being examined on general attainments as well as knowledge of police duties, and a further civil service examination is requisite for inspectors, as well as technical examinations for each minor step.

Candidates must be under twenty-seven years of age, and, if married, must not have more than two children when joining. The standard of height is 5 ft. 9 in., and the medical test very strict; more than half the applicants failing to pass the doctor. Accepted candidates are trained in police duties and receive systematic instruction at a candidates' class. The army provides a good proportion of the men. During the six years ending 1894, 14 per cent. of recruits had been soldiers. The age limit is extended in favour of retired soldiers, but the number of London police liable to be called out for service, in the army reserve, is limited to 550. The bulk of police recruits, however, are countrymen, straight from rural employment, to whom the wages offered appear wealth, and it is probable that

Londoners of equally good character and physique could obtain higher wages for other work.

Except as regards the City, where the rule does not apply, policemen have to live in the district they serve, and are obliged to find respectable quarters as best they can, paying often dearly. A few of the married men live at the stations, and most of the single ones are accommodated in what are called "section houses," otherwise, in the more crowded parts of London, the choice is almost limited to the better class of block dwellings.\* This no doubt accounts for the high percentage of crowding shown by the statistics, when compared to the known earnings of the men. Another noticeable result is that married men prefer the suburban districts and the unmarried the more lively central parts.

Section houses are attached to the principal London stations, at which the men pay a small sum weekly for lodging, and find their own food. These houses frequently form part of the station itself, but in other cases consist of a separate block of buildings. They vary in size according to the space available, the largest of them having accommodation for 164 men. All contain dormitories, a kitchen, and a mess-room. The larger houses have reading and recreation rooms, and are supplied with a library and even billiard tables. In all cases there is also a cloak room, in which the men keep their uniforms, and a drying room for wet clothes. In the older houses the beds are ranged along the walls of the dormitories, but in the newer ones separate cubicles are provided. Dinner is prepared by the cooks, and the men are divided into three messes according to the hours of work, the meal being served from 1 to 2 and 7 to 8, before going on beat, and from 2 to 3 on coming off.

\* In central London a large block of dwellings not far from Charing Cross was found to contain 156 families with children, and of the heads of these families forty-eight were police officers, and thirty-three were commissionaires.

Their other meals the men take when they please and prepare for themselves, but often with assistance from the cook if she is not otherwise occupied. In some cases there is a canteen where food and drink can be obtained at low rates. The accommodation is rather better than that provided for soldiers in barracks. Everything necessary for vigorous physical existence is provided, but refinements are lacking.

*Health.*—In 1894 the daily average sick list was equal to 2·86 per cent. of the whole force; in 1893 it had been 3·34 and in 1892 3·58 per cent. Besides diseases resulting from exposure, such as bronchitis and rheumatism, their occupation renders the police exceptionally liable to accidents and malicious injuries. There were in all 8644 cases of absence from duty for illness or accident in 1894, representing 6946 separate individuals (besides 645 cases carried forward from 1893). Of these cases 1274 were due to injuries, of which 882 happened while the men were on duty. In addition to injuries serious enough to keep the men from their work, there were nearly two thousand slighter cases. One shilling a day (or one-fifth of the pay for long periods) is deducted in case of absence from duty owing to sickness, and the amount credited to the pension fund, as also are fines, both those incurred by the police for breach of regulations and those imposed for assaults on the men. In receiving about four-fifths of their pay when disabled by sickness, policemen are better off (and rightly so, considering the risks they run) than the rank and file of the working-classes. There is no deduction from pay in case of absence due to injury while on duty.

#### PRISON SERVICE.

In the beginning of the century, when James Nield made his inquiry into the condition of English prisons, there were twenty within the London area. Since that time the

condition of these establishments has been improved and their number reduced to six, or to five if we omit the military prison at Brixton: viz. Holloway, Newgate, Pentonville, Wandsworth and Wormwood Scrubbs. The staffs employed consist of 461 persons—394 men and 67 women—some of whom, as medical officers and engineers, would not be included under the head of prisons in the census.

The warders (who are the most important class) number 316 men and 65 women. Of the men, chief warders earn £100 to £150 per annum; principal warders £85 to £93; warders £70 to £78, and assistant warders £60 to £68. Female warders receive about £15 less in each grade. The wages rise gradually according to length of service. Warders enter between the ages of twenty-four and forty-two. More than half of the men have been previously in the Army or Navy. They must be not less than 5ft. 6in. in height. Of civilians, men who have been trained as boot-makers, tailors or carpenters, are preferred, as a knowledge of these trades is useful; but not many civilians apply. Of 1088 applications made in the year ending October, 1894, only 372 were from civilians, 716 being from Army or Navy men.

*Organization*, in the trade union sense, is not permitted among police or prison officers, but there are some semi-official benefit societies. The Metropolitan and City police have an orphanage at Twickenham which accommodates 260 children. The subscribers to this institution included 16,054 of the officers of the two forces in 1894. In addition to the children taken into the orphanage, a payment from the "compassionate fund" of 2s 6d a week for each child was made to the mothers of nine hundred fatherless children under thirteen years of age. There is also a "benevolent fund," out of which policemen in difficulty from no fault of their own are assisted. These organizations are managed by joint boards representing the two forces. There is also



the Police Institute, a home and restaurant supported by the International Christian Police Association, an evangelical body with several branches in London and a seaside home at Brighton. It issues a monthly magazine for policemen.

# ARMY AND NAVY. (Section 80.)

## Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.					Enumerated by Families.					
Census Divisions, 1891.	Males.			Total.	Sex .....	Males .....		Females .....		
	—19	20—54	55—			3834				
(1) Army officer	40	1939	1219	3237	Birthplace {	In London ....	12 %	765	Heads of Families, 3867.	
(2) Soldier and non-commissioned officer ....	2975	8583	41	11,602		Out of London..	88 %	3102		
(3) Naval officer and seaman	123	608	276	1007	Industrial Status .. {	Employer .....	8 %	128		
						Employed .....	95 %	3646		
						Neither .....	2 %	93		
TOTAL .....					TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.					
					Total ....	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied	Servants.	Total.
						3867	2152	8299	5653	19,971
					Average in family ..	1	55	2'14	1'46	5'15
					CLASSIFICATION.		DISTRIBUTION.			
					For full details see Appendix A (Pt. I.).					
DISTRIBUTION.					Numbers living in Families.					
E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.		%	East .. { Inner 152 } 245			
902	1260	6057	7627	15,840	3 or more to a room	687	3'5	Outer 93 }		
					2 & under 3	1382	6'9			
					1 & under 2	1677	8'4	North { Inner 685 } 1790		
					Less than 1			Outer 1114 }		
					More than 4 rooms					
					4 or more persons to a servant ..	4099	20'5	West.. { Inner 2878 } 9980		
					Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servts.	1772	8'9	Outer 7102 }		
					All others with 2 or more servants	4691	23'5	Centra. Inner 500 500		
					Servants .....	5653	28'3	South- { Inner 31 } 5548		
								East { Outer 5517 }		
								South- { Inner 146 } 1890		
								West { Outer 1753 }		
						19,971	100			19,971
					Inner. Outer. Together.					
					Crowded..	15 %	9 %	10½ %	Inner 4,392, or 22 %	
					Not ..	85 %	91 %	89½ %	Outer 15,579, or 78 %	

The proportion of men under 30 years of age is greater than in any other occupation. Of those over 40, a few will be non-commissioned officers, but nearly all are officers on the active or retired lists. The private soldier or sailor passes into civil employment before he reaches this age. (See diagram.)

DISTRIBUTION.				
E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
902	1260	6057	7627	15,843

DETAILS OF OCCUPATIONS (FROM THE CENSUS DICTIONARY).				
(1) Field-marshal, general, colonel, major, captain, lieutenant, quartermaster, riding master, chaplain, surgeon, cadet.				
(2) Sergeant-major, staff-sergeant, quartermaster-sergeant, colour-sergeant, sergeant, corporal, bombardier, gunner, private, trooper, staff-clerk. Arms-school master, instructor, bandmaster, farrier, collar-maker, wheeler. Militia, yeomanry, volunteer.				
(3) Admiral, commodore, captain, lieutenant, sub-lieutenant, naval cadet, gunner, boatswain, seamen, coastguard, royal marines (officers and men).				

## THE ARMY IN LONDON.

Many people would smile incredulously if told that London is a military centre, and yet nearly ten thousand troops are constantly quartered there, and it contains within its bounds that huge establishment which Englishmen often term *the Arsenal*. Little is seen of the soldiers except at Woolwich, or in West London where most of the barracks are situate, and at Charing Cross, where the smartly dressed recruiting sergeants watch for suitable young men. If, however, the other parts of London lack any military aspect, Woolwich supplies the deficiency. With a population that, but for its absorption by London, would entitle it to a place amongst the thirty largest towns in the kingdom, Woolwich has grown up around its great military establishments, upon which directly or indirectly nearly all its people depend. At Woolwich it is impossible to forget you are in a garrison town; whichever way you turn, a barrack, hospital, or other government building catches the eye, nor can you walk many yards without meeting a soldier. About five thousand men are stationed here, of whom more than half are artillerymen, the remainder consisting of a battalion of infantry, several companies of the Army Service Corps, the Ordnance Store Corps and the Medical Staff Corps. For military purposes it forms a separate command. In London itself, the greater part of the Regiments of Guards are retained, two cavalry regiments being stationed at Hyde Park and Regent's Park Barracks, and five battalions of the Foot Guards—distributed between the Tower of London, Chelsea, and Wellington Barracks.

London is also the principal recruiting centre. During 1895, London and Woolwich supplied 5630 recruits to the Army out of a total of 29,583; and 5970 to the Militia out of 35,148 enlisted. With a few exceptions, short service has been compulsory since 1871, the term of twelve years being divided between the Army and the

Reserve, at the discretion of the Secretary of State for War. In most branches of the service seven years with the colours and five in the Reserve is the rule, but in the Army Service Corps the men only serve three years with the colours. The Foot Guards and Medical Staff Corps also have the option of this shorter service and appear generally to avail themselves of it.\*

Voluntary enlistment being the only available means of obtaining the number of men needed every year, it is very doubtful whether the inducements in the way of pay and allowances would alone attract sufficient recruits, notwithstanding the undoubted improvement that has taken place in the soldier's lot. Other influences aid the recruiting sergeant, the most potent being the glamour of a military life to lads of a roving disposition, and, on the negative side, love troubles or difficulties or want of civil employment. The last of these is the more evident motive, in London at any rate, and we find that recruiting is briskest in the winter months. The knowledge that food, lodging and pocket money can be ensured for a few years is a strong inducement to the hundreds of young fellows who walk the streets seeking employment.

*Pay and Allowances.*—With some exceptions amongst the officers, pay in the Army is reckoned per day. On joining the Service, the pay of the private ranges upward from a minimum of 1s a day in infantry regiments. The Foot Guards commence at 1s 1d, Engineers 1s 1½d, Army Service Corps, Ordnance Store Corps, and Medical Staff Corps, 1s 2d, Royal Artillery 1s 2½d, and the Household Cavalry at 1s 9d a day. In addition, every soldier is provided with clothing, quarters, bedding, fuel and light,

\* In 1895, of the 29,583 recruits joining their regiments, 26,196 enlisted for seven years, and 1576 for three years with the colours. The number of men joining the Foot Guards was 1173, Army Service Corps 381, and Medical Staff Corps 265, a total of 1819 men, of whom only 243 can have enlisted for seven years with the colours.

a daily ration of  $\frac{3}{4}$  lb. of meat and 1 lb. of bread, and, when required, medical attendance. The expenses which may in our times be called necessary, but which are borne by the soldiers, are for groceries and vegetables, washing and hair-cutting. For groceries and vegetables,  $3d$  to  $4d$  a day is deducted from his pay, and a halfpenny or penny for washing. The exact amount is fixed for each Corps, but in no case must these charges exceed  $5\frac{1}{2}d$  a day or  $3s\ 2\frac{1}{2}d$  a week. The young soldier can thus reckon positively upon a net weekly sum which amounts to not less than  $4s\ 4\frac{1}{2}d$  in the Foot Guards,  $5s\ 3d$  in the Artillery, and  $9s\ 0\frac{1}{2}d$  in the Life Guards, but out of this he has to pay for repairs to boots and clothing, and the renewal of his under-clothing.

The sum seems very small, but when he has become an efficient soldier, a well-conducted man's income is augmented by additional allowances known as "Good Conduct," "Extra-duty," "Working," and in certain cases, "Corps" pay. *Good Conduct pay* is granted to privates of unblemished character according to length of service, the test of good conduct being the absence of entries in the Regimental Defaulters' Book. The amount is indicated by a chevron or chevrons on the left arm, each of which denotes the addition of one penny a day. If the record is clear (a rare case) the first badge is obtained after two years' service; after six years' service in all, a man who has been in possession of one badge for two years may obtain a second; after twelve years, a third; and so on, until after twenty-eight years' service six badges may be obtained. *Extra-duty pay*, ordinarily varying from  $3d$  to  $1s$  a day, is granted to soldiers performing duties belonging to a rank higher than their own, and also to men performing special duties, such as clerks and cooks. *Working pay* ranges from  $4d$  to  $1s\ 4d$  a day, and is payable to artificers engaged at their crafts, but not receiving regimental pay as such, and to men forming working parties engaged on tasks not included in their ordinary duties, such as cleaning

or painting ammunition, white-washing, or the construction of ranges, butts, and similar works. *Corps pay* is only given to men of the Army Service Corps, Ordnance Store Corps, and the Medical Staff Corps, when present and effective at their posts. It varies from 3*d* to 1*s* 2*d* a day, and is practically a special remuneration to men working at their trades.

From one or more of these sources, men with a clear record can always increase their earnings after serving a short time with the colours, even though they fail to obtain promotion. In addition, each man becomes entitled to *Deferred pay* at the rate of £3 a year when discharged from the Army, transferred to the Reserve, or on completing twenty-one years' service, if he has attained the rank of sergeant.

*Promotion.*—For men joining the Army with the intention of making the profession of arms their life work, the chances of promotion under the short service system are good. In each company of seventy-five to one hundred privates there are usually five corporals, three sergeants, and a colour-sergeant, besides a few men of lance rank, and if a man qualifies himself he is almost certain to obtain at least one step within seven years, and in exceptional cases may attain the rank of sergeant within that time. Having become a colour-sergeant the next step is to warrant rank as sergeant-major or master gunner, and eventually even a commission may, in some cases, be attained as riding master, quartermaster, or second lieutenant.

For non-commissioned officers the rates of pay are:—lance-corporals or acting bombardiers, 1*s* 3*d* to 1*s* 9*d* a day; corporals, bombardiers, and second corporals, 1*s* 8*d* to 2*s* 8*d* a day; lance-sergeants, 2*s* to 2*s* 4*d* a day; sergeants, 2*s* 4*d* to 3*s* 3*d* a day; colour-sergeants, 3*s* to 4*s* 4*d* a day; and staff-sergeants from 3*s* 6*d* to 5*s* a day. Men holding warrant rank as sergeant-majors receive 5*s* to 6*s* a day.

*Pensions.*—Men permitted to re-engage, in order to

complete twenty-one years with the colours, become entitled to a pension varying according to rank and length of service. Privates may receive from 4s 8d to 10s 6d, and non-commissioned officers 8s 9d to 24s 6d a week, and those attaining warrant rank may receive 35s a week.

The ordinary daily life of the soldier is divided into three parts: general and field drills occupy his mornings, detail drills or stable duties fill a great part of the afternoon, whilst his evenings are mostly given to social, domestic or barrack-room life. The actual duties depend much upon the branch of the service, and the heaviest work falls to men in the Royal Artillery and the Army Service Corps.

In summer the routine of an artilleryman's day is as follows: Reveille sounds at 5.30 A.M.; at 6 A.M. he goes to the stables, where grooming and feeding his horses occupies him until breakfast at 7 A.M. Drill lasts from 8.30 to 11; from 11.30 until about 12.30 is spent in the stables, and at 12.45 dinner is served. At 2 o'clock drivers return to the stables once more and gunners go to carbine drill. From 3 to 4.45 the men are free; some go out, others rest, but most have some little duties to perform, and in nearly every barrack-room three or four men may be seen seated on their cots cleaning some part of their equipment. At 5 P.M. the bugle sounds for stables, and at 6 o'clock tea is ready. Except those employed as guards and pickets the men are free after tea until the time for turning in, and this may be deferred until midnight if a pass be obtained.

In other branches of the service the general routine is similar, with variations caused by particular duties. The cavalryman has but one horse to tend, whereas the artilleryman has two. Men in Infantry line regiments are generally free in the afternoon, but the Foot Guards are not so favourably placed. Once, and sometimes twice, a week they have to mount guard, which means twenty-four hours' duty at the guardroom, while pickets and extra drills

take up a portion of their time, the guardsman having to crowd into three years the instruction that in a line regiment is spread over a longer period.

Sunday is an off-day ; with few exceptions the men are free for the day after attending the morning Church parade.

His official duties finished, little restraint is placed upon the soldier in his leisure moments, whether afternoon or evening. He generally leaves the barrack-room as soon as possible, these apartments being usually dull and cheerless. The men must either sit on their cots or on a wooden form. No chairs are provided. In most barracks, however, there are recreation rooms, provided with billiard tables and other amusements ; reading-rooms supplied with newspapers and periodicals of various kinds, and regimental libraries to the use of which a small monthly subscription entitles a man.

Outside his barracks the soldier, stationed in London, has a wide choice in the disposal of his leisure, and he fully appreciates it, invariably preferring London with its life and bustle to other stations. There is always a theatre or music hall within easy reach. The theatre in the Royal Artillery Barracks at Woolwich is almost entirely supported by soldiers. Nor are other allurements wanting. The public-houses near the barracks are arranged with an eye to his tastes \* ; civilians ready to stand treat are often to be found, whilst if a soldier has any money in his pocket, there are dangerous friends, both male and female, who will help him to spend it.

*Soldiers' Homes and Institutes.*—To counteract such attractions as those above mentioned, Institutes, Homes and Clubs of various kinds have been opened by religious bodies and private individuals. At Woolwich there are three ; the Church of England Soldiers' Institute, the Wesleyan Home

\* At a well-known soldiers' house in Woolwich, all the barmaids wear red blouses.



in William Street, and another Home in Hill Street. In the West End there is the London Soldiers' Home in James Street, and the Wesleyan Soldiers' Home in Buckingham Palace Road, besides some smaller institutions such as St. Mary Abbott's Soldiers' Club at Kensington. Differing in their methods of work, each provides a place where the soldier can spend his leisure time and obtain recreation and refreshment of a kind, away from temptations to drink, &c. Here he can play bagatelle, chess or other games with his comrades, listen to musical and other entertainments, or attend some of the religious and temperance meetings held on one or more evenings a week and on Sundays. It must be said that although successful in other places, in London these institutions in a large measure fail to attain their end. The average soldier regards the Homes with a certain amount of suspicion, or fears the banter of his comrades in the barrack-room, and only visits them on rare occasions when some special attraction is provided. The men who frequent them are those governed by or brought up under strong religious influences, and to these the Homes are a great boon, providing an alternative to the canteen, and to amusements that are distasteful to them.

*Family life in the Army.*—For a soldier to marry is not an offence against military law, but the proportion of men in each regiment who may belong to the married establishment is fixed, and the authorities will not recognize the wives of men married "off the strength." The regulations permit all warrant officers and most non-commissioned officers of the rank of sergeant to marry; below that rank the number on the married roll in each corps varies from 3 to 7 per cent., being 3 per cent. in the Foot Guards, 4 per cent. in the Artillery, and 7 per cent. in the Household Cavalry. A higher percentage of married is permitted in small bodies of men engaged on special duties, such as those attached to the School of Gunnery (16 per cent.) and

to the District Establishment and Ammunition Columns of the Royal Artillery, for which the ratio is 20 per cent. and 50 per cent. respectively. As several of these special groups are stationed at Woolwich, the proportion of married soldiers there is large.

When a private has been six years in the service and has at least one good conduct badge, he may apply to have his name enrolled. In regiments like the Guards, where only 3 per cent. may be on the roll, some time—possibly some years—will elapse before the necessary permission is given. When the private has obtained his place on the roll, he is entitled to a room in the married quarters, an allowance of coal (120 lb. a week in winter and 80 lb. a week in summer), as well as light. He may also draw his daily ration of bread and meat. Thus, if a guardsman, he is provided with lodging, rations, fuel and light, and 8s 2d a week in money. To increase this amount the wives of the non-commissioned officers and men on the married roll do the regimental washing between them. As a rule, all who are eligible “draw their washing,” and in a regiment having a small percentage of married soldiers, each may reckon upon the washing of about twenty men. The men pay 3½d a week,\* so that from this source a married couple receives about 6s a week, and after paying expenses may expect to add at least 4s 6d a week to their income. Some, however, make much more, as although all draw their washing, some of the women do not care to work in the laundry. They then arrange with other women to do their share and divide the money, so that some women wash for three or four others. With the money so earned, and his pay and allowances, a married soldier's position is about equal to that of a labouring man in regular work, whilst a sergeant is perhaps as well off as most mechanics, and free from anxiety as to want of employment.

The position of a man marrying without permission

\* In the Army Service and a few other corps 1d per day.

is very different. His official status in the regiment is precisely the same as that of his bachelor comrades. Be he ever so careful he cannot, unless he has good conduct badges, give his wife more than 5s 3d a week. Unfortunately, the number of men married off the roll is considerable, and especially so in regiments quartered in London. Often the wife is or was a domestic servant. She may retain her situation for some time after marriage, but sooner or later she has to leave it and a room is taken within a short distance of the barracks, the rent of which will absorb a large part of the man's money. Here the woman commences a difficult struggle to support herself, and if children are born, the family soon seeks charity, or the woman is tempted to have recourse to prostitution for a livelihood. It is easy to denounce the conduct of these men, especially as each must have known perfectly well that he could not support a wife, still the condition of their wives and families remains one of the worst phases of life connected with the Army. This and other evils, of which the records of the military hospitals contain ample evidence, are the results of keeping a body of men under conditions which, however necessary, are unnatural.

*Returning to Civil Life.*—Upon one point every private interviewed has expressed the same opinion with varying degrees of emphasis. Each will be glad when his period of service is ended. After three or four months the romance of the soldier's life wears off; the strict discipline becomes irksome, and soon awakens a desire to escape from the monotony of the daily routine. He is then "glad to get out of it," but after four or five months' unsuccessful search for work he will be as glad to get back again. Re-enlistment, however, is not favoured by the authorities. They wish to add to the Reserve, and therefore prefer new recruits. The non-commissioned officer's lot is somewhat better; he is free from the most distasteful duties or

performs them by deputy, and he knows well that he could scarcely hope to improve his position by returning to civil life ; consequently he is fairly contented with his lot.

The question of employment for Reserve and discharged soldiers is of great importance. Every year about sixteen thousand men pass from the colours to the Reserve, and it is with difficulty that they establish themselves in civil employment. It is the crisis of a man's life. Army training, while it develops habits of attention to orders and prompt obedience, and accustoms men to regularity and routine, does nothing to foster individual resourcefulness. Few of the men have any trade. If a man has some knowledge of a trade when he enlists, and this trade is useful in his regimental life, he may continue it and even become more proficient, but such cases are not common, and there is little opportunity for the learning of any new trade. A man who has been seven years with the colours draws £21 on leaving, and it is natural enough that he should begin by treating himself to a holiday and indulging in a little pleasure. Then he looks round for employment, but before he finds a suitable situation it is likely that the money will all be gone. What, then, are his chances ? His aptitudes for civil employment are not very great in any direction, and in very many are absolutely non-existent ; and he has to try to obtain a footing amongst the crowd of those who, having the start of him, do their best to keep it. Moreover (although there are exceptions\*), most employers have a prejudice against soldiers, if it be only because of the liability they are under of being called out at any time. To counter-balance these disadvantages special efforts are made. There have been official inquiries into the facts. A Register of Civil Employment is kept at the head-quarters of each regiment and special registers for London, and Reserve men are given a preference for a number of situations in Government departments, notably in the Post Office. There are also

\* See Vol. II. of this Series, p. 100.

several societies which have been formed to assist discharged soldiers in finding employment, so that the men's prospects have undoubtedly improved. The War Office is naturally chary of doing anything which might imply any definite responsibility beyond the original contract of enlistment, but it maintains a friendly attitude towards these organizations, and even contributes to their funds. Of these societies the most important is the National Association for the Employment of Reserve Soldiers, established in 1886, which has seventy-six agencies in the United Kingdom. In 1895 this Society registered 9710 men, and found employment of some sort for 4120—or, confining ourselves to the London district, it registered 1634 in London and 75 at Woolwich, and found employment for 837 in London and 29 at Woolwich. The places found, besides those of postmen, include police, railway porters, grooms, coachmen, indoor servants, asylum attendants, caretakers, messengers, carmen and labourers. The Guards' Employment Society, formed in 1891, is a similar organization. The Corps of Commissionaires also absorbs a certain number of men every year. (See Vol. III. of this Series, p. 464.)

An older society, doing work of a rather different kind, is the Army and Navy Pensioners' Employment Society, established in 1855, when men were not supposed to leave the service till they were advanced in years. Its headquarters are in London, but there are branches in Dublin and at Glasgow. In 1895 this society added 480 men to its register and obtained 1947 places; from the proportion of situations obtained to individuals registered it would seem that temporary work to supplement a pension is more frequently secured, rather than permanent employment.

The Army administration is closely concerned in this question, as the chances offering for employment when the time of service is over cannot but affect enlistment, and beyond this, shame is cried if those who have served their country become destitute. It must, however, be said that

young men enlisting do not seem to look forward very much or, if at all, only optimistically, and, even when about to leave the Army, know little of the chances which these societies offer. A small guide is published giving the information, but it is doubtful if many of the men buy it. Perhaps something more might be done to spread knowledge on this subject amongst the men and arouse in them a sense of the difficulties of their position.

The policy of reserving places for these men is sometimes questioned. For instance, in the Post Office it is held that the boys from the telegraph service have a first claim to promotion. I am, however, inclined to think that it is desirable to find room in the public service for any army men for whom suitable work can be found. It is more easy for the young to adjust themselves to the demands of the labour market.

*Army Officers.*—It is unnecessary to enter into detail as to the condition and prospects of Army Officers, although at the 1891 census, 3237 were enumerated in London. They reside mainly in the West and Southern districts, and are mostly on the retired list. They are generally possessed of means beyond their pay or half pay, and it is their homes which account for the very large proportion of servants shown in our enumeration.

*Naval Officers and Seamen.*—Although our largest commercial port, London is not a royal naval station. The dockyard at Woolwich has been closed for many years. At the census 1007 men were returned as living in London. Of these 664 were naval officers, 251 seamen, and 92 marines. Most of the naval officers were probably on the retired list, no less than 414 being forty-five years of age or upwards; while 560 lived in the west and south districts. A few officers may be engaged on special duties, but others and the seamen would be on leave, the proximity of Easter to the date of the census in 1891 increasing the number in this category.

*Service Societies.*—Many religious and philanthropic

institutions exist for the benefit of soldiers, sailors, and those dependent upon them. Of these, the Soldiers' Homes, of combined social and religious character, have already been mentioned. The Army Scripture Readers' and Soldiers' Friend Society appoints readers to visit the barrack-rooms, to talk and read with the men. It now employs seventy men, most of whom have served in the Army. Two are attached to the London and two to the Woolwich garrisons. They work in connection with the homes and under the supervision of the Army chaplains. On a smaller scale, a similar work is done under Wesleyan auspices by the Army and Royal Navy Scripture Readers' Friend. The Soldiers' Christian Association has branches in London and Woolwich. It holds meetings for and is managed by soldiers. In connection with each of these societies a magazine is published for men in the Services. The Army Temperance Association also attempts to reach the soldier in barracks. It has 217 branches, with a membership of 11,754. In some barracks a room is set apart for its meetings and becomes a rendezvous for the members.

Of purely philanthropic societies, one of the most useful is the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families' Association, founded in 1885. It does not relieve soldiers directly ; its primary objects are to obtain employment for the wives and families of men serving in the Army and Navy, and to help them in time of sickness or temporary distress. It has Nursing and Officers' branches, and is the only society that assists the families of men married without leave. Chelsea and Greenwich Hospital and the Cambridge and Patriotic Funds provide for old soldiers, sailors, and their widows. About five hundred sons of soldiers are trained in the Duke of York's school at Chelsea, the girls being maintained in the Soldiers' Daughters' Home at Hampstead, and in the Royal Victoria Patriotic Asylum, Wandsworth Common. Sailors' orphan girls are also maintained at the latter institution, and at the Sailors' Orphan Girls' School, Hampstead.

# CHAPTER IV.

## LAW AND MEDICINE.

### LAW. (Section 81.)

#### Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.					Enumerated by Families.							
Census Divisions, 1891.	Females.	Males.			Total.	Sex .....	Males .....		Females .....	Total.		
	All Ages.	19	20—54	55—			7734	21				
(1) Barrister, solicitor .....	—	1	4475	978	5454	Birthplace {	In London .... 54%	4153	} Heads of Families, 7755.	3692		
(2) Law clerk ..	112	1982	6308	625	9117	{	Out of London.. 46%	3692				
						Industrial Status .. {	Employer ..... 30%	2307				
						{	Employed ..... 60%	4682				
						{	Neither ..... 10%	769				
TOTAL....					112	1982	10,873	1603	14,571			
TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.												
The age diagram shows that the greatest numbers are employed between 20 and 25. After 40 the line follows closely the mean for London. The proportion of clerks reaching old age is small as compared with the numbers of barristers and solicitors.					Total ....	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total.		
						7755	5854	17,787	8030	39,426		
					Average in family ..	1	76	2.29	1.04	5.09		
					CLASSIFICATION.			DISTRIBUTION.				
For full details see Appendix A (Part I.).												
DISTRIBUTION.					Numbers living in Families. %					East { Inner 548 } 791	Outer 243 }	
					3 or more to a room 653 16							
					2 & under 3 „ 1440 36					North { Inner 1845 } 11,680	Outer 9835 }	
					1 & under 2 „ 3926 10.0							
					Less than 1 „					West { Inner 1706 } 11,261	Outer 9555 }	
					More than 4 rooms							
					4 or more persons to a servant ..					Central Inner 1765 1763	South- ( Inner 173 ) 6373	East ( Outer 6200 )
					Less than 4 to 1 servant and 4 or more to 2 servts.							
					All others with 2 or more servants					South- ( Inner 948 ) 7556	West ( Outer 6608 )	
					Servants .....							
					39,426 100							
					Inner. Outer. Together.							
					Crowded.. 15% 3% 5%					Inner 9,985, or 18%		
					Not „ .. 85% 97% 95%					Outer 32,441, or 82%		



## BARRISTERS, SOLICITORS, AND LAW WRITERS.

London seems the natural home of barristers, solicitors, and law clerks, and the majority of those who live in London are London born. Their head-quarters are the Inns of Court and Chancery Lane, at the junction of the City and the West End, with the Courts of Justice in their midst, and a large proportion of the legal business of the whole country, contentious and non-contentious alike, is here transacted. The factories of the law are noiseless, and many a passer-by is tempted to turn aside from the roaring stream of traffic in Holborn and the Strand into the quiet backwaters formed by the courts and gardens of Gray's Inn, Lincoln's Inn, and the Temple, where the barristers' chambers are to be found. Solicitors are more scattered. A number of large firms have their offices in the City, and there are a good many also in the West End proper, some of high repute and active in "family business," and others, especially in the streets off Bond Street and Regent's Street, who do business for tradesmen and money-lenders, and choose this position in order to be near their clients.

The preliminary education for both branches of the profession is expensive, and men who seek to enter them, especially as barristers, must be in a position to live on their own means for some years, or else must pick up a living in the by-paths of literature, for it is usually long before they can pay their way out of their professional earnings. The reward comes late, or may not come at all, but, if it comes, the years of earning are usually prolonged. Lawyers are not past their work until well advanced in life.

Among those in the neighbourhood of the police courts there are a few men calling themselves solicitors whose poverty may bring them within the limits of the crowded in our table, but such cases are comparatively rare, and it is rather with the clerks of barristers and solicitors than with barristers and solicitors themselves, that we have to do in this classification.

The higher branch of clerks from which solicitors are usually recruited, start by being "articled," *i.e.* apprenticed to a practising solicitor. They are of higher social standing than those who work their way up from boyhood, and the distinction between "articled" and "unarticled" clerks in a solicitor's office is a fairly sharp one.

Unarticled clerks receive much the same pay as those employed in commerce. Starting as boys at 7s or 8s a week they reach 25s to 40s, and may eventually become managing or confidential clerks at from £150 to £400 per annum. It is open to them, if they pass three qualifying examinations, and can afford to pay the fees, to become solicitors on their own account. Not many do this. As clerks their work is hard and closely sustained. In addition to the clerks, a large office will usually have two or three cashiers, rent collectors, and shorthand writers.

Barristers' clerks have more leisure. They start when fourteen or fifteen years of age under a "senior" clerk. Between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one the boys earn 15s to 18s and call themselves "junior clerks." After a year or two at this they may begin to look for a position as "only" clerk, and in this capacity may serve four or five young men who have been lately called to the bar, and are setting up for themselves in chambers. For the clerk as well as his master there is a fee with every brief. Young barristers have but little remunerative work, and the clerk, who as soon as he becomes a chief or only clerk is properly entitled to nothing beyond the regular fees, demands a guarantee that the sum paid him shall not be less than, it may be, £70 to £100. Clerks to barristers in fair practice earn from £200 to £400 a year. The incomes of the chief clerks to barristers in the largest practice would run up to £800 or £1000, or even more. It is roughly calculated that clerks' fees are from 5 to 8 per cent. of their employers' earnings. In return for this they keep the fee book, and act as intermediary between barrister and solicitor

with respect to the amount of fee that will be accepted, since etiquette forbids the barrister to do this for himself. They also arrange the times of conferences, and have many other duties of a semi-confidential nature. Amiability, tact and honesty are the qualities in greatest demand. There is little else required of them and the majority of barristers' clerks would be hard to place outside their special branch of work.

Office hours are from 10 A.M. to 6 or 7 P.M. or to 4 or 5 P.M. on Saturdays, excepting in the long vacation, when the hours are shorter if, indeed, the chambers are not shut up altogether. If his master is made a judge of the High Court the clerk receives a fixed salary of £400, but should he be made judge of an inferior court, or in any case at his death, the clerk must find a new employer, and sometimes has to make an entirely fresh start. This is a risk which every barrister's clerk has to run. The tenure of employment under a firm, as with solicitors, is very different.

Law writers or engrossers are a different set of men altogether. One or two may be found in a large solicitor's office, but as a class they are employed by law stationers. Solicitors usually send their rough drafts to the law stationers, who then distribute them to the law writers to copy on paper or engross either on paper or parchment. The usual charge for copying is  $1\frac{1}{2}d$  per folio of seventy-two words, of which  $1d$  is paid to the writer. A man who works fairly fast can copy from ten to fourteen folios in an hour. For all engrossments the stationer charges the solicitor  $2d$  per folio, and pays to the writer at the rate of  $1s$  for ten folios if it is paper work, and  $1s$  for nine folios if the engrossing is done on parchment. For engrossing wills, which must be done without erasure, the writer is allowed  $1\frac{1}{2}d$  out of the stationer's  $2d$ . This is the general rate of pay for engrossments, though there are a few men who only give  $1d$  per folio. In a busy week as much as £5 can be

made by a quick worker, and between £3 and £4 by an average man. For good men in fairly continuous work £2 per week would be a not unreasonable average for the year. Very long hours obtain—one man declared that he had on many occasions written for thirty-six hours at a stretch—and night work is most common, since much of a solicitor's work is not ready before 6 or 7 P.M. and often has to be copied out before morning—a very bad system. Sunday work is quite usual. Apprenticeship survives and is for five or seven years, with office hours from 9 A.M. to 8 P.M. for five days, and 9 till 5 on Saturdays.

So far we have spoken only of the regular men employed by law stationers. Below them come a class forming what is technically known as "the trade," whose life and habits it would require a Dickens to describe. These are the engrossers and law writers to whom law stationers send out their work when their own staff is insufficient to cope with it. In the immediate neighbourhood of Cursitor Street and to some extent in the City there are several small rooms rented by "Office-keepers" who are the middlemen of the trade. Office-keepers are men who, being copyists themselves, have obtained a connection among law stationers. They rent a room and allow who will to come there on the chance of finding work. Benches and desks to work at, with ink, fire, and lighting, is all they undertake to provide. The stationer sends round the documents he has received from the solicitor to the office-keeper, who in his turn deals them out first of all to himself, and then to the more regular of the attendants at his rooms, and lastly to the less regular. The more regular are known as "sitters." Many of them have served their time as apprentices, and fallen out of work partly through an inherent inability to put up with the tedium of office life and also, to an even greater extent, through unsteadiness caused by drink. Those who have not served their time,

but have managed to "pick up" the work, are known as "wallers." If wanted they are to be found leaning against the street wall (whence their name) or at the "iron office," as one of the lamp posts in Cursitor Street is termed. In all there are about two hundred of them in London. Without exception they are men who have come down in the world and are still on that descending scale whose lower grade is represented by the addressers of envelopes and writers of begging-letters (known to one another as B. L.'s) and lowest (in respect of finances) by the bearers of sandwich-boards in the streets. Out of every 1s they earn, 2d is taken by the office-keeper, who thus recoups himself for his initial outlay. The busiest season is from Christmas to Easter, and then again from Whitsun to the long vacation, when the more regular amongst these irregulars may make 40s in a week of seven days. The average for these busy months, however, will not be above 25s to 30s, and probably not so much, as the members of the "trade" are incapable of continued application even if they have the work to do. In the long vacation 10s will represent a fair week's work for those who remain in London, but the greater part of them migrate to Kent for fruit and hop-picking at this season. It need hardly be said that the hours are irregular in the extreme. In busy times a little work may trickle in during the morning, but the real business of the day does not begin until 5 or 6 p.m. Solicitors have a fancy for having the documents which they give out over-night copied out and ready for them by the time they reach their office the next morning. This, though customary, is by no means always necessary. But the custom necessitates working through the night for those who do the copying, and at midnight these men may be found writing away though almost dropping with sleep. One man complained that he had several times broken his glasses, and once almost put out his eye with his pen, through falling asleep while writing in

the small hours of the morning. While working, the men drink, and many of them have a bottle of liquid refreshment on the floor beneath their seats, from which they help themselves freely until their work is done.

It is not contended that these evils are not in some part due to natural weakness of character, but at the same time it cannot be gainsaid that they are largely the result of the seemingly unnecessary hurry of the principals—a hurry which contrasts strangely with the notorious “law’s delays.”

The position of this trade is not very secure. Even now some legal documents are type written, and in the future it is probable that the majority of them will be copied in this way. But the force of habit is so strong that the change may be a very gradual one.

Thus we have seen that barristers’ clerks have long hours with but little to do; while solicitors’ clerks may have to wait about the courts for a case to come on and are open to much temptation from clients and barristers’ clerks; and law writers have bursts of work during or after which nature demands a stimulant. Little wonder then that there is some complaint of drinking habits amongst all these men. There is perhaps not so much drunkenness as one might expect, but cases, it must be admitted, are not rare.

In addition to the men, there are also a few female copyists. Although they receive much of their work through the law stationers, yet there are some solicitors who deal with them directly. The same rates are paid to the women as to the men, except in a few offices where they receive a time wage of 15s to 20s a week. Women pay a premium and are apprenticed for from six months to a year. An experienced copyist in full work could make 40s in a week but not more, and ordinary earnings when in fair work vary from 15s to 30s.

*Organization.*—Barristers have been spoken of as “members of the largest trade society in the world.”

In their maintenance of existing privileges and regulation of all matters concerning the welfare of the profession, and in the exclusion of outsiders, their aims and practice approach those of a trade union, but they offer no other benefits; there is no out-of-work pay for barristers. For the relief of actual distress, however, there is a "Barristers' Benevolent Fund." Amongst the clerks there is the "United Law Clerks' Society," which grants sick pension and death allowances, and a "Solicitors' Managing Clerks' Association," founded in 1892. The law writers also have a provident institution.

MEDICINE. (Section 82.)

*Persons Represented.*

Census Enumeration.					Enumerated by Families.									
Census Divisions, 1891.	Females.	Males.			Total.	Sex .....	{	Males .....	7057	Females.....	3971	H	Heads of Families, 11,028.	
	All Ages.	—19	20—54	55—										
(1) Physician, &c.	60	9	3354	925	4342	Birthplace	{	In London ....	37 %	4058	}	63 %	4970	
(2) Dentist .....	256	186	970	133	1545			Out of London..	63 %	4970				
(3) Veterinary Surgeon .....	—	21	313	77	411	Industrial Status ..	{	Employer .....	23 %	2493	}	Employed .....	51 %	5634
(4) Nurse, &c.....	14,062	51	705	124	15,542			Neither .....	26 %	2901				
(5) Druggist ....	441	497	3321	469	4668									
TOTAL....					15,419	758	8603	1668	26,508					

The age line for males is very consistent, showing, as compared with the whole employed population, a deficit at each age period below 30, and an excess at all points afterwards, but particularly in old age (see diagram). Amongst females it is a striking fact that the majority of nurses have reached or are past middle life (under 45, 7122; 45 and over, 7540), whilst only about 1 % are under 20 years old. The only other female occupation which compares with this is that of the charwoman.

DISTRIBUTION.					TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.					
E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.	Hheads of Families.		Others occupied.	Unoccupied	Servants.	Total.
2776	7820	8013	7800	26,508	Total ....	11,028	9827	16,916	7750	45,530
					Average in family..	1	89	154	70	413

CLASSIFICATION.

DISTRIBUTION.

For full details see Appendix A (Part I.).

DETAILS OF OCCUPATIONS (FROM THE CENSUS DICTIONARY).					Numbers living in Families.					% East { Inner 3228 } 4200				
					3 or more to a room	2008	4.4	Outer 972 }						
					2 & under 3	3744	8.2							
					1 & under 2	7029	15.4	North { Inner 4932 } 14,520						
					Less than 1	13,426	29.5	Outer 9597 }						
					More than 4 rooms	13,426	29.5	West { Inner 2273 } 10,491						
					4 or more persons to a servant ..			Outer 8218 }						
					Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servts.	5513	12.1	Central Inner 2657 2657						
					All others with 2 or more servants	6051	13.3	South. { Inner 840 } 6221						
					Servants .....	7750	17.1	East { Inner 5381 } 6221						
								South. { Inner 1994 } 7432						
								West { Outer 5438 } 7432						

- DETAILS OF OCCUPATIONS  
(FROM THE CENSUS DICTIONARY).
- (1) Surgeon, apothecary, medical officer of health.
  - (2) Mineral tooth maker.
  - (3) Surgeon farrier, cow leech.
  - (4) Trained hospital nurse, midwife, monthly nurse, wet nurse, bone setter, cupper, masseur, patient wrapper.
  - (5) Chemist; court plaister, ointment, pill maker; plaister spreader.



## MEDICAL MEN.

In this section the Census enumerates 26,500 persons, distributed amongst doctors, dentists, artificial teeth-makers, hospital nurses, midwives, chemists and druggists. With the exception of artificial teeth-makers and a few chemists, none of these persons can be properly spoken of as manufacturers or employers of labour in the ordinary sense. Of the males, the majority belong to the professional classes, and as such any statement of their earnings and hours of work lies rather beyond the scope of this inquiry. With regard to the females the greatest number (nearly fifteen thousand) are trained nurses—hospital, infirmary, asylum, district and monthly nurses and midwives, &c., and a few are employed in the finishing processes of the manufacture of artificial teeth.

We propose in what follows to speak principally of the wage-earners in each class, beginning with the employees of doctors, dentists and druggists, and then passing on to a more detailed consideration of the life and earnings of professional nurses.

In the West End of London the representatives of medicine and dentistry are found in their greatest numbers in the neighbourhood of Harley Street and Hanover Square. Over the remaining districts they are scattered fairly evenly, though dentists have a traditional home in St. Martin's Lane and Ludgate Hill, and all seem to give preference to houses situated in a square, or at the corner of a street. In a square the light is better and there is greater quiet, while a corner house has the counterbalancing advantages of greater prominence and the convenience of a side-door into the surgery.

For all medical men a course of training extending over five years, and the successful passing of sundry examina-

tions, forms a necessary prelude to their careers as practising physicians or surgeons.

The prospects of success for the young men in this profession may be judged from the table given below. This table is taken from the reports (unpublished) of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.\*

In it Sir James Paget traces the careers of one thousand of his pupils over a period of fifteen years, dating from their entrance to the hospital at which he was a lecturer. Of the thousand

23	achieved distinguished success.
66	„ considerable success.
507	„ fair success.
124	„ very limited success.
56	failed entirely.
96	left the profession.
87	died within 12 years of commencing practice.
41	died during pupilage.

•  
1000

This is very interesting as a record of the after careers of men not belonging to the wage-earning classes.

Those are classed as having achieved distinguished success who gained and maintained leading practices in counties or large towns, or held important public offices, &c. Considerable success is ascribed to those who gained good practices, or more than ordinary esteem and influence in society. Fair success to those who acquired a moderate practice—enough to live with—or ordinary public appointments. Very limited success, to those who were not in moderately good practice nor likely to obtain it. Of the fifty-six failures, twenty-five were idle or dissipated and intemperate. Of the ninety-six who left the profession, “thirteen while pupils left or were expelled in disgrace, and three were wisely removed by their friends. Of the remaining eighty, one while still a pupil and one after

\* Given by special permission of Sir James Paget, Bt., F.R.S.

beginning practice, retired on private means, too rich to need to work ; four after beginning practice had to leave in disgrace—one of them was rather sinned against than sinning ; another, who had been a good student, speculated in mines, lost money, forged, and is in prison ; three became actors, of whom two are in obscurity and one is well esteemed in genteel comedy ; four entered the army with commissions, one after and three before obtaining a diploma for practice ; three pupils enlisted as privates, and one of these distinguished himself by courage and good conduct sufficiently to win a commission ; one while a pupil, left for the bar and has succeeded ; five after passing took orders in the Church of England, two in the Church of Rome ; ten pupils, and as many after having begun practice, left for different forms of mercantile life at home or in the colonies ; three pupils and six young practitioners took to farming. The remaining twenty-seven left the profession for various pursuits which need not be specified, unless to say that three became homœopathic practitioners, but took to that class no repute for either wisdom or working power.” If we deduct the loss by death (which agrees with the general average mortality of males over nineteen years of age) and those who, after leaving the profession, succeeded in some other way, the proportion of failures and even of those whose success was “very limited” is certainly not large.

Sir James Paget concludes with the following sentence : “ All my recollections would lead me to tell that every student may draw from his daily life a very likely forecast of his life in practice ; for it will depend on himself a hundredfold more than on circumstance.”

A practitioner, especially if he has a surgery attached to his house, generally employs one or two assistants, who may either be resident or non-resident, and qualified or unqualified. These men may be spoken of as wage-earners, and are paid £60 to £100 per year if qualified, and

£30 to £60 when unqualified, as resident indoor assistants. Outdoor assistants usually have their rooms found for them by the principal, and earn £80 to £150 when qualified, and £50 to £90 if unqualified.

#### DENTISTS AND MINERAL TEETH MANUFACTURERS.

Since the Dental Act of 1878 every student who wishes to practise dentistry must serve a three years' apprenticeship with a registered practitioner, in order to learn the mechanical portion of his work; after this he passes a preliminary examination, and then follows it up by a two years' course in a dental hospital, taken concurrently with a two years' course in a general hospital; making in all a period of five years' training. Finally a diploma, carrying with it a licence to practise, is obtained by examination. Thus every dentist has a mechanical as well as a hospital training.

Our business lies chiefly with mechanical dentists and the employees of artificial teeth-makers. Mechanical dentists are those trained by practising dentists to do the mechanical portion of their work—making plates of metal or vulcanite, fixing false teeth into dentures, &c. A few become practitioners in time, but not many. They are skilled workmen, and earn from 30s to £4 or £5 per week.

No dentist makes his own false teeth, though some profess to do so. Their manufacture is confined to four houses in London, employing between them about five hundred persons, of whom nearly three hundred are women. The trade is a small and jealous one, though the out-put in teeth is enormous. Bone teeth and ivory teeth have had their day, and bags of human teeth from the battle-fields would no longer, as in the early part of the century, find a ready market in London. Their

place has been taken by artificial or mineral teeth, into whose composition felspar largely enters. It is the duty of the men and boys employed to mix and mould and "fire" the teeth in crucibles, known as "muffles," while the women trim off the burrs, and polish and make up the finished article into sets. Work is regular from year's end to year's end, and the majority of those employed have been trained up from boyhood or girlhood in their respective factories.

Girls receive 5s or 6s a week, and rise to 15s or 20s. Boys begin at 6s or 7s, and rise to 18s or 20s when twenty years of age. At twenty-one a substantial rise to 25s or 27s is often given, in order to encourage them to work during the last two years of their informal apprenticeship. After 27s any rise depends upon length of service, the maximum for subordinates varying between 30s and 35s. Foremen are paid between 45s and 50s or 60s. The usual hours are from 8 or 8.30 A.M. to 6 P.M., and until 2 on Saturdays. Overtime is not unusual, and is said to amount to six hours per week throughout the year.

Dental "Rubber" is also a London specialty, and, in spite of some American and German competition, is exported to every quarter of the globe. This form of rubber is supplied to dentists in a soft state, and is used by them in the manufacture of the vulcanite dentures, which act as the beds of the false teeth of their patients. Pure Parà rubber, which forms the basis of the finished article, is coloured with pigments by "mixers," passed through hot machine rolling-mills by "flatters," then cut to shape by "cutters," and "boxed" or put up in small oblong boxes between sheets of glazed linen by "boxers," who are women or boys. In all not more than forty or fifty persons are so employed, but the amount of rubber dealt with reaches a large total in the course of the year. Each vulcanite plate is said to weigh about an ounce, of which half an ounce only will be rubber pure and simple.

The process of "mixing" is that which requires the greatest skill and judgment. It is somewhat unhealthy, for, the colour used is in most cases a form of vermilion very finely powdered. Those who undertake this branch wear respirators, and, for further protection, there are mortars in use which are so enclosed in a glass case that the men can see what progress they make as they work with the pestle, which projects through a flexible covering at the top.

Wages in the rubber department of an artificial teeth manufacturer are slightly higher than those given above. But otherwise the hours and conditions of work are the same.

### CHEMISTS AND DRUGGISTS.

Among these the census has included a few plaister-spreaders and pill-makers, who belong more properly to the section given up to manufacturing chemists. Those of whom we intend to speak here are the assistants in chemists' shops, who have for the most part received an all-round training, and are expected to be able to compound and dispense all the drugs that make up a chemist's ordinary stock.

Chemists and chemists' assistants are generally the sons of retail chemists, or of small farmers and tradesmen. For the latter it is a rise in the social scale. The Pharmaceutical Society requires all students to have passed the preliminary examination of the College of Preceptors or Oxford and Cambridge Local before they present themselves for the "minor" examination, which carries with it the right to practise as a "chemist and druggist," while those who aspire to the title of "pharmaceutical" chemist may undergo a third or "major" examination if they care to do so. No man may practise by himself before he is twenty-one. Young men between sixteen and twenty are usually apprenticed to a chemist for three years, and have

to pay a premium of £40 to £90 for the privilege. After this they seek a place as second or third assistant, at £30 to £40 if indoors, and £65 to £78 if an out-boarder.

As soon as the "minor" is passed, a post of second assistant, with an increase of £10 in salary, can be found without much difficulty, and, if tactful and gifted with an appearance of age beyond his years, a young man of twenty may be fortunate enough to secure £60 or £70. The next step is to a post of senior assistant, and thence to one as "manager." Outdoor qualified men are paid as a rule 40s per week, or 30s if boarded and lodged. Those who have passed the "major" can often command 5s per week more.

Of late years the profits of retail chemists have been greatly curtailed by the "store" chemists. These stores are financed by syndicates, who place in them at least one qualified man at £3 to £5 per week, and as many assistants, both qualified and unqualified, at 30s to 40s, as may be necessary.

There is no reason to suppose that the public is less well served by these shops, where to a very large extent the ready-made preparations of wholesale chemists are sold, than by those of the old style, and it has certainly benefited by reason of their greater cheapness. In the dispensaries attached to hospitals the regular wage for qualified men is 40s per week.

Hours vary with the character of the neighbourhood in which the shop is situated. The poorer the district the longer the hours, may be taken as a general rule, and assistants may be expected to be in attendance at any hour between 8.30 A.M. and 11 P.M. It usually devolves upon one of the juniors or apprentices to answer the night bell in cases of emergency. One evening off per week from 6 P.M., and a fortnight's holiday in the year are also customary.

## NURSES.

In no walk of life has the desire of certain women for independence and usefulness outside their homes found on the whole a more satisfactory expression than in the adoption of the profession of hospital nurse. Just as every boy has the wish to become a soldier or sailor, so does every girl at one period or other desire to take up nursing. The census at each decade shows an increase in the numbers of women so employed. In 1861, 8700 females returned themselves as midwives, hospital attendants, or nurses (not domestic); in 1871, 8900; in 1881, 10,500; in 1891, 14,700; so that there has been an increase of nearly 60 per cent. in the last thirty years.

All classes are drawn upon to satisfy the demand. Many are ladies by birth and education and many belong to the upper servant class. Daughters of clergymen, military and naval officers, of doctors, of farmers, of tradesmen and artisans are found side by side in all the great metropolitan hospitals. Many of those who would formerly have sought places as music teachers or nursery governesses have been absorbed in this way. The majority depend upon their profession for their living, though here and there may be found nurses with private means of whom this could not be said. Of nurses who have received a University education there is a marked absence, and it is stated that such ladies prefer to take up medical work as doctors.

We will begin with nurses employed in the large General Hospitals, since these are the chief training-schools for nurses in London, and then follow on with those belonging to such other branches of the profession as are sufficiently distinct to be considered separately.

We cannot do better than quote from the Third Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on



Metropolitan Hospitals, dated June, 1892, as to the nursing staff of a hospital. "The nursing staff of a hospital ordinarily consists of a matron or lady superintendent,\* a certain number of head nurses, usually styled 'sisters,' one to each ward or pair of wards (according to their size), by day, and one for the whole hospital or a wing of it, or for a group of wards, by night; staff-nurses, that is to say, nurses who have passed their full period of training and received their certificate; and probationers, these latter forming the most numerous class. The more advanced probationers are often entrusted with the duties of staff-nurses. In addition to the ordinary probationers, there is, in some hospitals, a class of paying probationers or lady pupils, who perform the same duties as the others, but whose terms of service are different."

Great numbers apply every year to be taken on as nurses. One matron told us that last year (1895), she had 2500 applications. These numbers are not quite so remarkable as at first sight they would appear to be, since would-be nurses always put their names on the waiting lists of several hospitals at the same time with the object of having more than one string to their bow. Candidates must as a rule be not less than twenty-three years of age, and have special personal qualifications. Among other things stated on the printed papers usually given to them it is not uncommon to read, "You are required to be punctual, quiet and orderly, cleanly and neat, methodical and active, patient, cheerful and kindly, careful and trustworthy." ("With wings" might well be added.) Inquiries are also made and references given as to former life, and if these are satisfactory an interview with the matron follows, after which the candidate is finally rejected or accepted as a probationer for one to three months on the understanding that if she is suitable she will then contract to remain in the service of the

\* There are also often one or two assistant matrons.

hospital for from one to three years. The probationers at once enter upon their full duties; they are subordinate to the staff-nurses, and begin by learning to sweep the ward, to clean the lavatories and tidy up after the nurses and dressers. For the more menial duties of scrubbing, lighting the fires and washing up the dishes, there is usually a domestic servant known as a ward-maid. In only one case is any preparatory training given in a nursing home connected with the hospital, and the sudden physical strain of the first three months of hospital service severely taxes the strength of all beginners.

The period of hospital training considered necessary to produce a fully qualified nurse is most generally stated to be three years. In practise this varies. Some hospitals grant a certificate after one or two years, and others after three or four; but in most cases a period of service after the grant of a diploma is insisted upon even if it has been given after the fulfilment of a three years' course. In the same way, the length of time necessary for promotion within the hospital is uncertain. Nurses, it is said, are born and not made; and it is argued by some that any attempt to fix a period as essential either for their education or for the rise in rank from the position of probationer to that of staff nurse or sister, is of necessity futile. It is almost as important that a sister who has more than forty beds to supervise, should be able to organize the work of those under her as that she should herself be a first-class nurse, although a combination of the two qualities would be best. Hence, in some places, a probationer may after a year be promoted to the post of sister over the heads of staff-nurses who have been working for a much longer time. In others, the post of sister is reserved for ladies by birth and education only.

The best way, perhaps, of showing the hours worked by nurses will be to give the table of hours in force at one of the largest of the Metropolitan General Hospitals.

*Time-table for Probationers and Staff-nurses.*

## DAY.

Breakfast.	Wards.	Dinner.	Wards.	Off Duty.	Supper.	In Bed.
6.30 A.M.	7 A.M.	12.45 to 1.15 P.M. or 1.15 to 1.45. P.M.	1.15 P.M. or 1.45.	2 hours daily or the equivalent during the week.*	9.30 P.M.	10.30 P.M.

## NIGHT.

Rise.	Supper or Breakfast.	In Wards.	Dinner.	Off Duty.	In Bed.
8.15 P.M. in winter. 6 P.M. in summer.	8.50 P.M.	From 9.20 P.M. to 9.20 A.M.	10 A.M.	10.30 A.M. to 1 P.M. in winter. 6.30 P.M. to 8 P.M. in summer.	1.30 P.M. in winter. 11 A.M. in summer.

Thus a nurse on day-duty is usually called at 5.45 or 6 A.M.; she has a breakfast of ham and eggs, coffee, &c., and enters the wards at 7. For about two hours in the morning both night and day nurses are on duty together, and the time is spent in sweeping the wards, washing the patients, and preparing them for and serving them with their breakfasts. Between 9 and 10.30 A.M., twenty minutes or half an hour is allowed off for nurses to tidy themselves and take a lunch of bread and milk in summer or of soup in winter. After this they are on duty until about 1, when they go in two relays to dinner. This is the chief meal of the day, and consists of soup and meat and pudding or cheese, with beer or milk to drink. In some hospitals a nurse must sit at table for half an hour, whether she is eating or no, for the sake of her digestion; while in others she is free as soon as she has finished. Then follows a long spell in the wards, interrupted only by tea, taken

\* In addition, one half-hour is allowed after the morning's work, as well as sufficient time for tea at a convenient hour.

usually in the wards, until 8.30 or 9.30, when, after telling the night-nurses about the new patients, or any changes in the condition of those of the day before, she goes off to a supper of cold meat and vegetables. Finally, she must be in bed with her light out by half-past ten. The day is not always so long, for the afternoon is often broken by rest and recreation for from two to four hours once, twice, or thrice a week, and some hospitals grant this amount of leave regularly every day. In addition, a whole day once a month and an evening once a fortnight is not unusual, while the yearly holidays are for three or four weeks.

A night nurse starts by having breakfast between 8 and 9 P.M. Luncheon, which she cooks for herself at whatever hour she likes during the night, generally consists of something savoury to tempt the palate; and she takes her dinner when she comes off in the morning. Night duty is usually undertaken for alternate periods of three months, or for the year following on the first year of probation.

Sisters have no night duty, though they may be called up in emergencies. They are the official mouthpieces of the nurses, through whom complaints are made to the matron, and they receive the orders of the visiting physicians and surgeons as they make their rounds, and are responsible for their fulfilment. They organize the nursing of the ward and prepare each day a written report on the cases under them. As a rule, they come on duty at 8 A.M., and go off at 8 or 10 P.M. Their chief meal is dinner at 7 or 8 P.M., which they have with the whole body of hospital sisters together. Their other meals are often prepared and served by the wardmaids in the rooms in which they live and sleep—situated generally at one end of the ward or wards under their supervision. In some cases they have to provide and pay themselves for all they eat in their own rooms. In the matter of leave and holidays they are allowed rather more than that given to staff nurses.

There is no uniformity either in the arrangement of the

day's work or of the holidays in the hospitals of London, so that the record given above is subject to considerable modification in details in individual cases.

There now remains the question of remuneration and emoluments. Special probationers generally pay 21s per week for the right to learn nursing for a period of three months at least. After that they either leave or join the regular hospital staff, and instead of paying receive a regular salary.

Under the Nightingale Fund Regulations at St. Thomas' Hospital special probationers must pay £30 for the first year of training, and then undertake to serve for two years as a nurse, while in exceptional cases, upon payment of £52, the undertaking is limited to one year's service after leaving the school.

Probationers in their first year may be paid from £8 to £12, or sometimes are not paid at all. They rise to about £20 in their third year.

Staff nurses commence at something between £22 and £30, and rise to £26 or £40 in the third year.

Sisters may receive as much as £60 or £80, but the more usual salary varies between £32 and £50.

In addition to these sums a uniform consisting of about three cotton dresses with caps and aprons is allowed, and about 2s per week for washing.

The higher posts of assistant matron or superintendent are remunerated with a salary of from £35 to £60, and in one case £120, while the head matron may receive anything from £70 to £150, depending on the size of the hospital, or up to £200 or £250 in the larger and richer of the general hospitals.

Before considering the careers which are usually adopted by nurses who have received their training in a general hospital, we must touch on some of those forms of nursing which are not usually considered to require the all-round experience in acute cases which the hospital training is

supposed to give. Of such a nature are fever and asylum nursing, and such special forms of nursing as require the services of monthly or wet-nurses and midwives.

*Fever Nurses.*—The majority of those employed in fever nursing are under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Asylums Board. In place of sisters, there are “charge” nurses at the head of wards, in receipt of salaries starting at £36 and rising £1 a year to £40. Below them are two classes of assistant nurses, of whom the first are appointed at £24 rising to £28, and the second at £20 rising to £24. Charge nurses must have a certificate of three years’ training in a general hospital or in a poor-law infirmary in which systematic instruction is given, or they may rise from assistant nurses, if, after two years of fever work, they pass one year in a general hospital or infirmary.

To be a fever nurse is to condemn yourself to a life of some isolation owing to fear of infection. Friends object, and this, coupled with the difficulty in obtaining a rise when in the hospital as well as the monotony of seeing nothing but fever or small-pox cases, prevents this class of nurses from being so high in social standing as those that are found in general hospitals. More often than not a fever hospital has to advertise for nurses to supply its vacancies. One day’s holiday per month and twelve hours’ leave during each week (often taken all at once) and occasional evening passes from 8.30 to 10 P.M., is the usual allowance for fever nurses, and the hours of work are between 7 A.M. and 8 P.M. for those on day duty, and from 8 P.M. to 8 A.M. for night duty. Nursing in a fever hospital is perhaps not so invigorating mentally as that in a general hospital, but at the same time there is not so much danger of physical overstrain.

*Asylum Nurses.*—As asylum nurses, preference is given to young women between twenty and twenty-four years of age without previous experience. They come as a class from

domestic servants, or from among the daughters of small dressmakers. Junior nurses start at £20 and rise £1 a year to £30, while charge nurses are paid slightly more. Often £2. 12s is given in lieu of beer, to discourage the abuse of intoxicants of which formerly there was so much complaint. The work of an asylum nurse is almost of necessity deadening to her sensibilities. The dirty habits of patients, the noise in the wards, the language used, which is said to be equally foul and forcible whether the patient be gentle born or no, and the often groundless complaints made against the nurses, tend alike to lessen the self-respect of persons so engaged. The work, too, is monotonous, and there is much shifting for the sake of change from one institution to another. Of late years the action of the Medico-Psychological Association in issuing certificates to nurses with two years' training after examination has done much to raise the tone and self-respect of asylum attendants, both male and female.

*Male Nurses.*—The greatest number of these are employed as attendants in the male wards of asylums. For the most part they are Army reserve men. They start at about £30 per year and rise to £40, with an addition of £2. 12s instead of beer. Male nurses are also attached to many nursing institutions and also to epileptic hospitals. In all heavy cases, that is where the patient is helpless, or perhaps dropsical, they are of great use. It is probable that they would be far more widely employed than they are if any of the general hospitals would receive men and train them as they do women. But, without exception, the hospital authorities refuse to do so. Even where the medical staff is in favour of them, the matron has always successfully opposed their introduction. In consequence, trained male nurses can only be drawn from amongst those who have served in the medical staff corps of the Army, or have been sick-bay stewards in the Navy. The prejudice against male nurses is such that when lately an offer was made to the

London infirmaries for the supply of a trained male nurse free of cost, by a philanthropic institution founded to encourage this form of nursing, only one was found willing to accept it. The average earnings of male nurses in private cases are between £70 and £80 per year, and the usual weekly charges made vary between two and four guineas.

*Midwives, Monthly Nurses, and Wet Nurses.*—All women who wish to take up diplomas as midwives or monthly nurses have to pay for their training. They then have to pay the fees and pass the examination of the London Obstetrical Society. Many ladies intent upon mission work abroad and many district nurses undergo a four months' course of midwifery and monthly nursing. Some hospital nurses also like to qualify themselves in these two branches. Midwifery is the higher branch of the profession, and is concerned in the treatment of the patient up to and at the birth of the child, while monthly nursing consists in the treatment of child and mother after delivery. Learners, who are often widows, are not as a rule received under twenty-five years of age or over forty, and the cost of instruction varies between eight and twelve guineas, as one or both branches are taken. The profession is a lucrative one, and even in a working-class district a midwife who is known and liked can earn £100 per year. Much depends on receiving the recommendations of customers.

Monthly nurses seldom earn less than 21s per week and food, a few will make only 12s 6d at starting, but not many, and nurses dependent on the demand of a poor neighbourhood can expect to earn £50 a year. When employed by the working classes there are many minor duties, such as cooking the family dinner and minding the other children, which devolve upon them. In wealthier houses the charges made vary from six to ten guineas, and will at times run up to twenty guineas for the month, while those nurses who are known to fashionable doctors and have the additional



qualification of a diploma in midwifery can command sums between fifteen and thirty guineas. The custom is for each nurse to make her own charge, which often varies with the supposed means of her patient.

"Sairey Gamp" still survives here and there with her love for "something stronger than water," and her haphazard rule of thumb. But slowly and surely her ways have been discovered by the district nurse, and the knowledge that something better is obtainable has practically stopped the demand for her services. However, the tradition of her needs is not yet dead, and great temptations to drink are still put in the way of her successors.

Wet-nursing, too, is on the decline. The discovery of "humanized" milk and the possibility of bringing up children by hand, has rendered the services of a wet-nurse to a great extent unnecessary, and to this must be added the dislike of wives to the nursing of their children by women who in most cases are unmarried mothers. The knowledge that the nurse was herself a mother, and was of necessity neglecting her own child, was never a pleasing reflection for her employer. The result has been a change of fashion. When employed, wet-nurses earn between 18s and 21s per week.

In this connection mention may be made of baby-farmers and foster parents, whom the census includes under the head of "lodging-house keepers." The ordinary charge for boarding-out a baby varies between 5s and 7s per week. Very little can be said in favour of the system or of its results in London, which are sometimes a scandal.

*Medical Rubber and Masseuse.*—The increase of foreign travel and the experience thereby acquired of foreign methods of relieving certain forms of suffering has of late years increased the demand for "rubbers." Trained male and some female rubbers can earn 5s to 10s an hour, or from £3 to £5 per week, and still more for men of much experience. The work is hard and apt to be uncertain.

Many nurses add a knowledge of rubbing to their other acquirements. This part of the trade has its shady side, and in some cases the name "masseuse" conceals a disreputable way of earning a livelihood.

*Nurses in Special Hospitals.*—Nurses in children's hospitals and special hospitals such as those for cancer and consumption, &c., work under much the same conditions as nurses employed in general hospitals. A few have received their initial training in the general hospital, and have then chosen that particular form of illness for which their powers of nursing seemed especially adapted. But not many. In a special hospital the sisters are usually chosen from outside while the staff is home-trained. There is a want of variety which, unless accompanied by an increase in salary and authority, is insufficient to attract a nurse from a general to a special hospital. As we have seen in the case of asylums, good spirits may be of more use than technical skill, so that a special hospital as a rule is willing to accept probationers at a younger age than a general hospital. In consequence, young nurses often begin by specializing, and then try to continue their training in a general hospital—a transition which is not always easy, because of the unwillingness of large institutions to take in hand those who may have learnt in other places methods somewhat different to their own.

So far we have spoken chiefly of the great training schools for nurses and of those branches of nursing which by their nature stand rather by themselves.

We have now to consider what becomes of the great stream of trained nurses which issues yearly from these schools. It may be said that every nurse who continues in her profession after her period of training is over desires to be taken on to the permanent staff of the hospital. Every staff nurse wishes to become a sister, and every sister desires a post of superintendent or matron. It is naturally impossible that

these wishes should be gratified in any except a few cases. Every hospital has fewer staff nurses than probationers, fewer sisters than staff nurses, and still fewer matrons than sisters. Fortunately, from the nurses' point of view, there is a growing demand for their services from the outside. Those of them who are ladies by birth and education, are found by experience to make the better "heads of departments," and preference is given to them for any vacancies as sisters or superintendents in their own or other hospitals. Those who are not promoted in this way or for whom there is no vacancy in the hospital nursing home undertake private nursing, or obtain appointments in smaller hospitals or infirmaries, or they take up district work.

*Private Nursing.*—To most of the general hospitals there is a nursing institution attached. Into this nurses are drafted after one to three years of service in the hospital-wards, and from this they are sent out on application to attend on private cases. Board, washing, and lodging are given free, and a salary of £25 to £40—depending on the capacity or length of service of the nurse. In addition, some, but not all, institutions grant a plus of 15 to 30 per cent. on the actual sums of money earned. The charges made vary between two and four guineas per week, so that the profit sometimes accruing to the home is not inconsiderable.

There are also many unattached nursing homes in London, which are organized on strictly commercial lines. The feeling that more was justly due to the nurses than they received, led to the foundation, in 1891, of a "Nurses' Co-operation," which deducts only a small percentage ( $7\frac{1}{2}$ ) for the costs of working, and pays over the remainder to the nurse who has attended the case. In this way, 333 nurses earned between them over £26,000 in 1895, making a nett average income for themselves of about £73. No nurses are received who have not had a three years' training. The actual advantage to the nurse of joining the

co-operation, if she intends to take up private nursing, is not so great as it at first sight appears, for there is the expense of maintaining a room to be taken into account, and the cost of living during the intervals between cases, as well as the possibility of a break-down, during which no money can be earned. These drawbacks are met in some cases by one or two nurses taking rooms together and sharing expenses; but such "Box and Cox" arrangements are not always easily manageable, and when Box and Cox are out of work together, the well-known difficulties reassert themselves.

Private nursing severely tests the moral fibre of nurses. A nurse who has been in a hospital where she is practically free from responsibility, who has had every hour and its duties carefully mapped out for her beforehand, suddenly finds that in the absence of the doctor, the initiative in everything that concerns the patient is left to her. This gives to many that feeling of self-importance which may lead to the unnecessary self-assertion in matters not affecting the patient of which so much complaint is made. In justice to the nurse, it must be said that she seldom neglects her patient.

Again, it is said, the unaccustomed luxury witnessed or experienced in the wealthy houses where she is engaged, encourage her in tastes beyond her means; and, when at the end of her time she finds herself in the possession of a considerable sum of ready money, she is tempted to gratify her new-found wants without thought of the future. The nurse in an institution attached to a hospital, being under supervision and in receipt of a regular salary, is relieved of these temptations, and the results may be more satisfactory, both to her purse and to her well-being.

*Infirmary Nursing.*—Some workhouse infirmaries train their own nurses, but the majority of infirmary nurses have received their training elsewhere. To have been at least one or two years in a hospital with a recognized training school,

is the usual qualification. In infirmaries sisters are paid from £25 to £30, staff nurses from £20 to £25, and probationers from £10 to £20, and an allowance of £3 to £4 is often given in lieu of beer. An infirmary training is useful as a prelude to district work, because of the experience it affords of the proper treatment of chronic cases which are not received into a general hospital. The practice of nursing paupers by paupers, which was once the rule, has now become the exception in London.

*District Nursing.*—So much harm often results from the enforced absence from home of the responsible head of a working-class family, that there are probably few forms of charity more commendable or more successful as regards results than that which consists in the establishment of a district nurse “for the nursing of the poor in their own homes.” Two societies for the training and supply of such nurses have played an important part in encouraging trained nurses to take up this branch of work. They are the “Queen Victoria’s Jubilee Institute for trained nurses,” and the “Metropolitan and National Nursing Association.” Since 1895 the second of these institutions has been called the “Metropolitan Nursing Association,” and has become the training school of the Jubilee Institute, so that they may now be considered to form one Society. Jubilee District nurses must always have qualified for their work by a previous training of at least two years in a general hospital or infirmary, to which is added a six months’ training in district work under supervision.

The peculiar forte of a district nurse lies in her ability to make use of common articles, and to convert them into surgical appendages. She may never buy anything for her patient. In a hospital everything is provided, and there is an appliance ready for every emergency, whereas in a working-class home there is nothing, and chairs, pokers and teapots have to be turned to uses for which they were never intended.

A district nurse is paid between £25 and £40 per year, according to merit, in addition to which her uniform, washing and lodging, with fire and light, are found for her. The cost of such a nurse varies between £70 and £90 per year, and may rise to something above this sum in districts where rent and food are expensive. District nurses as a rule are directly subject to local committees; their work is inspected yearly or oftener by the Queen's Institute. Superintendents of District Homes are paid salaries varying from £50 to £100. A few religious societies also combine nursing the sick with propaganda work. Those they employ must have had from three to eighteen months' training, and are paid between 15s and 20s per week.

*Army Nurses.*—In all there are only eleven Army sisters employed within the London district, at salaries beginning at £30 and rising to £50 per year. In addition 13s per week is allowed them for food and washing, and £4 per year for clothing, while every three years there is a grant of 65s for a new cloak. The army "staff nurse" is a man, and subject to the orders of the sister. Every sister must have received a three years' training in a general hospital, and after appointment has to serve on probation for six months at the Netley military hospital. Army sisters rank as officers, and have a more assured social position than any other form of nurse.

We have now traced the training, qualifications and remuneration of those employed in the more important branches of the profession of nursing in London. One or two points, however, with reference to the system of training and life of nurses still remain for our consideration. In general hospitals nurses are not often received under twenty-three years of age, and are not considered to be fully trained until a period of three or four years' service has elapsed. In special hospitals probationers are received at an earlier age, and for a shorter period of

training, and in such hospitals it is only the sisters who have had the advantages of a general training. Hence it is evident that under the designation of "hospital trained nurse," or "certificated hospital nurse," reference may be made to two persons with totally different qualifications. Various attempts have been made to obtain bills for the compulsory registration of both hospital nurses and midwives. But, like other women in other industries, nurses have not the same capacity for effective combination as men, and the efforts of the "British Nurses' Association" and the "Midwives' Association" have not yet been crowned with success. As regards nurses, the question is complicated by the fact that each hospital likes to use its own judgment as to the capacity of a nurse, which, as is contended, may be as great in some cases after one year's training as in others after three or four years. In consequence there is for nurses at present no uniform curriculum of educational training. The unofficial minimum seems in practise to consist in a three years' course.

In point of money the earnings of a nurse compare favourably with those of the daily governess and the upper domestic servant, while her social rank is distinctly superior to that of the latter. The prospects of marriage are also better, because of the constant contact into which she is brought with the students and their teachers in the course of her duties. Moreover, the uniform is most becoming to its wearers. So the profession has attractions of its own, which weigh in the balance against its undoubted hardships.

The effect of a nurse's training upon her character is strongly marked. Not one only, but the majority of the matrons whom we saw testified to the fact that no women pass out of the hospital mill unchanged. The nurse after her training is either a distinctly worse or distinctly better woman than when she entered. It is a trial as well as a training that is undergone.

Indigestion, anæmia and sore throat, overstrain and flat-foot, are the ailments from which nurses mostly suffer. The hours of work are long, and a nurse is constantly on her feet and moving about over the hard and polished floors of the hospital ward. "Flat-foot," *i.e.* the dropping of the instep, can often be guarded against by proper care and the use of special shoes, but overstrain and the ills that ensue are almost inevitable under the long hours that still obtain. Since the report of the House of Lords' Committee there has been a great improvement in the conditions under which nurses have worked. This Committee, among other things, recommended for nurses (1) eight hours' work exclusive of meal hours, (2) one hour for dinner and greater variety in the food provided, (3) the provision of pensions, (4) that such menial duties as the scrubbing of baths, grates, and lavatories should not be required of them, (5) that the course of training should be a uniform one of three years, and (6) that in the homes attached to hospitals a commission should be given on all private earnings.

Treble shifts of eight hours each are declared impracticable because of the great increase in accommodation and consequent expense that would be necessary, but undoubtedly a greater amount of leisure might be granted to nurses daily than is allowed at present in all except one or two hospitals. Furthermore there would still seem to be room for greater care in cooking and greater variety in the food offered to nurses. Cleaning the grates and laying the fires are duties now generally given over to the ward-maid, but the scrubbing of baths and utensils may fairly be considered to form part of the duties with which a nurse should have had some acquaintance.

In the matter of pensions and the provision for old age the prospects of nurses have been vastly improved by the foundation in 1887 of the Royal National Pension Fund for Nurses. A few hospitals have their own



provident funds, out of which grants are made to old servants.

The successful establishment of the National Fund was in the first instance largely due to private munificence. Its object has been to afford to nurses, at the lowest cost to themselves, a safe means of providing against sickness, accident and old age. The fund resembles a regular insurance office in granting policies, but differs from them in that the pension receivable is generally increased by donations from a bonus fund. It also acts as a savings bank by returning all contributions paid should the nurse at any time give up her profession. Some hospitals pay one-half of the premiums of all their nurses in order to encourage them to join the fund.

On all sides there is testimony to the good done by this fund, and of the increase observable in the provident habits of nurses.

### *Wages Statistics.*

We have been favoured with particulars of wages paid to 3237 nurses, of whom 1455 are employed in hospitals of the ordinary character, 943 in infirmaries, and 839 in the fever hospitals of the Metropolitan Asylums Board. The rates of pay in the two former classes of institutions are as follows :—

Rate per annum.	Hospitals.		Infirmaries.		Total.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
£50 and over	68	4·7	32	3·3	100	4·2
£40—49	47	3·2	12	1·3	59	2·4
£35—39	74	5·1	14	1·5	88	3·7
£30—34	99	6·8	60	6·4	159	6·6
£25—29	147	10·1	168	17·8	315	13·1
£20—24	314	21·6	365	38·7	679	28·3
£15—19	161	11·1	181	19·2	342	14·3
£10—14	299	20·5	111	11·8	410	17·1
£5—9	64	4·4	—	—	64	2·7
No salary .....	182	12·5	—	—	182	7·6
Total .....	1455	100·0	943	100·0	2398	100·0

Nine of the foregoing do not receive any extras, but are paid more than £50 a year. All the rest are allowed full board, lodging, and washing, in addition to wages; and 2193 (or more than 90 per cent. of the whole number) are also provided with uniform.

It is noticeable that the greatest percentage both of hospital and infirmary nurses are paid between £20 and £24 a year. At the higher rates, *i.e.* from £35 to £50 and over, hospitals employ 13 per cent., as against 6 per cent. in infirmaries. At the other end of the scale there are 25 per cent. in hospitals earning between £5 and £15, as compared with 12 per cent. in infirmaries; while the 182 probationers—who are paid nothing in hospitals—have no counterpart in infirmaries.

In the table given below of the rates paid in the fever and smallpox hospitals of the Metropolitan Asylums Board, it will be seen that no one employed as nurse is paid under £20. There is also a noticeable break between those in receipt of £30 and those immediately above, who start at £36. This marks the difference between the fully-trained “charge” nurse or sister, and the assistant nurse of the first class, who has not received a three years’ hospital training.

The nurses in these hospitals all receive rations, lodging, washing, and uniform, besides the subjoined salaries:—

Rate.	Number.	Per cent.
£40 to £46	9	1·1
£36 „ £40	257	30·6
£24 „ £30	261	31·1
£20 „ £24	312	37·2
	839	100·0

The lunatic asylums belonging to the Metropolitan Asylums Board are situated outside the London boundary; but, as they are confined to London patients, and erected, paid for, and managed by Londoners, the following

particulars of wages paid to the attendants may be of interest here. With the exception of the two male outdoor attendants, all receive rations, lodging, washing, and uniform in addition to salary :—

*Numbers and Salaries of Asylum Attendants in the employ of the Metropolitan Asylums Board.*

Description.	Nos. employed.	Salary.
<i>Males.</i>		
Head attendants .....	5	£40 rising £2 a year to £60
Charge or 1st cl. attendts.	37	£30 „ £1 „ „ £40
Attendants (married) .....	12	£35 „ „ „ £42
2nd class attendants .....	94	£25 „ „ „ £30
Outdoor „ .....	2	20s per week rising „ 22s
General „ .....	1	£10
	151	
<i>Females.</i>		
Head attendants .....	6	£30 rising £1 a year to £40
„ „ .....	1	£40
Deputy head attendant ...	1	£25 „ „ „ £35
Charge attendants .....	10	£25 „ „ „ £30
„ „ .....	3	£20 „ „ „ £25
1st class „ .....	27	£19 „ £1 a year „ £27
2nd class „ .....	142	£15 or £16 rising £1 a year to £20 or £22
2nd „ „ (night) .....	25	£19 „ „ „ £23 or £25
Attendants, married .....	13	£16 „ „ „ £23
Supernumeraries „ .....	8	£15 „ „ „ £22
School attendants .....	6	£18 „ „ „ £25
	242	

# CHAPTER V.

## ART AND AMUSEMENT. (Section 83.)

### Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.					Enumerated by Families.						
Census Divisions 1891.	Females. All Ages.	Males.			Total.	Sex					
		—19	20—54	55—		{ Males ..... Females.....	8461 1507				
(1) Painter, Engraver ..	1375	296	2986	609	5,296	Birthplace { In London .... Out of London ..	49 % 51 %	4872 5096	Heads of Families, 9968.		
(2) Photograph- er .....	610	303	1200	132	2,245		Industrial Status.... { Employer ..... Employed..... Neither .....	10 % 52 % 38 %	990 5102 3876		
(3) Actor .....	1664	75	1114	82	2,935						
(4) Theatre Ser- vice .....	327	69	739	108	1,243						
(5) Showman, &c. ....	199	217	1351	132	2,009						
(6) Musician ..	5296	376	4167	586	10,423						
TOTAL....		9471	1306	11,757	1769	TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.					
<p>The age curve shows that in these professions there are, as compared to the whole employed population, less than half the average proportion of boys, and not much more than half the average of youths between 15 and 20 years old. The maximum number, however, is reached at 30, and from this point there is an excess at each age-period. (See diagram.)</p>						Total	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total.
						1908	8530	18,555	3069	40,122	
Average in family..						1	86	186	31	403	
CLASSIFICATION.						DISTRIBUTION.					
						For full details see Appendix A (Part 1.).					
<p>Numbers living in Families. %</p>											
3 or more to a room						3077	7.7	East { Inner 2099 } Outer 489	2588		
2 & under 3						4670	11.6	North { Inner 2674 } Outer 9867	12,541		
1 & under 2						7757	19.3				
Less than 1								West { Inner 1383 } Outer 7265	8648		
More than 4 rooms						17,188	42.8				
4 or more persons to a servant ..								Central Inner 2537		2337	
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servts.						2869	7.2	South- / Inner 285		4716	
All others with 2 or more servants ..						1492	3.7	East { Outer 4431 }			
Servants .....						3069	7.7	South- / Inner 3058		9062	
								West { Outer 6031 }			
						40,122	100				
						Inner, Outer. Together.					
Crowded..						35½ %	12 %	19 %	Inner 12,036, or 30 %		
Not ..						64½ %	88 %	81 %	Outer 28,086, or 70 %		

## ARTISTS, ENGRAVERS, AND PHOTOGRAPHERS.

Those of whom we mainly think when we speak of artists, hardly come within the scope of an industrial inquiry, but many humble occupations are covered by the broad name of art. Moreover, we have included in this section musicians and actors, and with them all those whose business it is to cater for the public amusement, many of whom are in the very humblest walks of life, as for instance organ-grinders and showmen.

On the pictorial side of art we find painters and engravers classed together. Photographers are separately stated. Amongst engravers there are to be found artists not greatly inferior perhaps to some of those whose work they reproduce, but under the same designation there are men whose skill barely suffices for the cutting on wood or copper of a letter or some simple pattern. The divisions of the engraver's trade which we shall follow are not based upon degree of skill, but rather upon the material on which the design is cut—steel, copper, zinc or wood. More scientifically, the division depends on whether the lines which carry the ink are raised or incised. Of this something has already been said in connection with printing and lithography, the latter, though closely allied to engraving, being treated as a branch of printing. But engravers themselves are found in several census sections. Map engravers are included with map sellers. Heraldic engravers, together with the engravers of seals, are placed with die and coin makers. Grouped with painters are those who engrave on blocks of wood, or on copper-plate or on steel, as well as many who carry out the modern process of photo-engraving on zinc. Most of these men describe themselves as bank-note, line, ornamental, stone, steel, script, wood, or writing engravers; but if the branch of the trade to which they belong is not mentioned they pass in the census as "artisans undefined."

The principal subdivisions of the engraver's trade with which we have now to deal are industrially distinct from one another, it being rare to find men engaged in one branch who are capable of competing in any other branch. They can only do the work to which they are accustomed.

### *Wood Engraving.*

This work may be pictorial or mechanical, and the men employed usually confine themselves to one or other branch. Anatomical work, which may also be considered apart, lies about midway between the other two.

Pictorial engraving includes the production or reproduction of many kinds of drawings, and demands often a high degree of skill. The business of illustration is as a whole very active, but hand labour and the use of wooden blocks are being superseded by the new photographic processes to which we shall refer later. Mechanical engraving includes technical drawings and plans, and most of the illustrations for trade circulars and advertisements. This business too is active, and, although it is now attacked, has so far held its own better than pictorial work, since the saving to be made by using the newer methods is not so great as with pictorial work.

The improvement and cheapening of various methods of reproducing drawings has resulted in a reduction in the number of men employed in wood engraving. Some firms formerly employing twenty engravers have not more than half a dozen now, and the majority of those employed only work about half time. Competition has been consequently very keen, and although the cost of work on wooden blocks has decreased nearly 50 per cent. within the past ten years, the advantage of price still remains with "process," as the new method is termed, and the wood engraver can only depend upon work that requires special treatment.

Engraving readily adapts itself to a system of home work, and while many take work in this way, others combine, two or three together, to hire a work-room, each man having his own clients and retaining his own earnings. As work has become more difficult to obtain, increased numbers have adopted these methods, and have set up a competition amongst themselves as well as with the large firms which has furthered the fall in prices and brought about a general demoralization of the trade. Employers, finding they can have their work done as well and more cheaply outside, give out their orders, and decrease the number of those regularly employed on their own premises.

Several engraving machines are in use for cutting straight lines or parts of circles. The cost of these machines, however, precludes their use by engravers with a small business, and moreover they are only suited for technical drawings in which straight lines and circles play a considerable part.

### *Copper-plate Engraving.*

The men who engrave on copper are sharply specialized among themselves. There are heraldic engravers, ornamental engravers, map engravers, and writing or script engravers.

*Heraldic Engravers* are a small body of men who, besides the ability to cut the lines correctly, should have a fair knowledge of the subtleties of heraldry, in order to do their work intelligently. A few of them work on their employers' premises; others at home or in a hired workshop. Of the latter, several are to be found on the upper floors of the old houses in Soho, where good light can be combined with a comparatively cheap rent, and the engraver is not far from the fashionable shops, whence he receives his orders.

*Ornamental Engravers* cut scrolls and patterns. They

are a very small but highly skilled body of men, akin to the heraldic engravers.

*Map Engraving* is almost entirely a London industry—the only important exception being the work for the Ordnance Survey carried on at Southampton. Much of this work used to be done on steel, but copper has superseded steel for this purpose. The maps are not printed directly from the plates, but a transfer is made from the plate to a lithographic stone, and from this the maps are more easily printed. The men engaged are either “outline” or “hill” engravers. The outline engraver does his part, including the lettering, and the plate then passes to the hill engraver, who inserts the mountains and other elevations in the conventional shading to which our eyes are accustomed, and which most of us find more suggestive than “contour lines.” The number of men employed in this way in London would not exceed fifty all told. Good hill engravers, we are told, can be counted on the fingers.

Map engravers, like the rest, have suffered in recent years by the competition of other “processes,” and the best men are apt to monopolize the reduced volume of work, making the earnings of the others more and more precarious.

*Script or Writing Engravers* form the largest section of those working on copper. They do a great deal of commercial work, such as invoice and bill heads, cheques, share certificates, &c., as well as note-paper headings and visiting cards for all the world. The last is one of the most important branches. A large proportion of these men work on their employers’ premises and have fairly regular work. Men describing themselves as copper-plate engravers will generally belong to this group; those in the other sections would describe themselves by their special name.

*Banknote Engraving* is another specialized branch finding employment for a small but highly skilled and well-



paid body of men. The work is in the hands of two or three firms. In addition to those required for the Bank of England, notes are sometimes made here for foreign governments, but most of this work is said to go to America if not done by the country issuing the note. In some of this work, as with maps, lithography is combined with engraving.

No other occupation has suffered more than engraving from the competition of new inventions and the change from ancient to modern methods. Every branch of the business has been affected in this way.

*Hours of Work* vary widely. In the employers' work-rooms 9 A.M. to 6 or 7 P.M., with intervals for dinner and tea, is the usual time, or from forty-two to forty-eight hours a week. With the men working in their own homes the hours are at least as irregular as the work. Every man is a law unto himself. Too frequently he stands idle through lack of employment, and must work early and late to make up for lost time; but even without such enforced irregularity it is rarely found that men who are their own masters keep very regular hours.

*Earnings.*—The system of employment and the uncertainty of the trade make it difficult to obtain reliable information as to actual earnings. Employers only know the amount they pay weekly, but men may work for more than one master. On the other side the men may perhaps state what they can earn in a full week, but are unable or do not care to state what the average amount is. Piece-work is the usual method of remuneration. For wood engraving a price is fixed per square inch or for the block—varying according to the character of the work. When a time-rate is adopted it will vary from 10*d* to 2*s* an hour, but this generally resolves itself into a piece-rate, as a certain time is allowed for a block. Pictorial engravers can earn from £3 to £5 a week if in regular work;

mechanical engravers about £3. Very few, however, actually earn these amounts. Ordinary piece-workers range from 30s to 40s, home-workers often making less. Some men employed by time earn only 35s a week. The men engaged on heraldic and ornamental work are paid the highest rates. Piece-work is usual, and the men earn anything up to £4 or £5 a week; but the work is very uncertain and earnings sometimes fall to 20s. Script or writing engravers can seldom exceed 60s, but their work is more regular and may yield a larger average amount of wages. Map engravers in full work earn £4 to £5 a week, but to do this is exceptional. A few men are regularly employed on weekly wages of 70s to 80s, and these rates secure the best men. "Hill" engravers are paid a higher rate than the outline men, but the work is more precarious so that the average incomes of the two classes differ little. The lettering on the maps is paid so much a word of five letters.

*Apprenticeship* is the recognized mode of learning the trade. The period varies from five to seven years. A premium of £30 to £80 is usually paid; but few lads are entering the business. As a rule employers do not care to take apprentices. It is easy for a lad to spoil work, while he seldom becomes really useful within two years. It is only the men who work on their own account who will take boys to learn the trade.

### *Photography.*

Under this head 2245 persons were returned in the 1891 census. These figures do not, however, fully represent the extent of the London trade, as to find a clearer and cleaner air the large photographic firms have removed their works to outlying situations, mostly on the northern heights, only retaining offices, studios or shops in London. Thus a considerable number of workpeople are to be found living at such places as Acton, Barnet, Ealing, Watford

and Willesden who may be regarded as belonging to the London trade. This applies also to the manufacture of photographic paper, dry plates and other material; the works of only one firm being within the London area, while many are to be found in the outskirts.

Amongst photographers there are three distinct grades.

(1) The low-priced men with their places of business in crowded thoroughfares, some of whom are in a large way of business with several studios and works elsewhere. (2) Those charging medium prices, who include most of the suburban trade; and (3) the high-class West End photographers, some of whom also have their printing works beyond the London boundaries. Some of the smaller men find it an economy to send their printing to the firms with works outside. At houses of the last named class cabinet portraits cost 18s a dozen for "silver prints," and up to double or treble that amount for platinotypes, and 8s 6d to 16s a dozen is charged for the smaller size. In a few fashionable studios the charges are still higher, varying from one to three guineas for the first picture and 5s to 10s each for additional copies, which are generally of some unusual size.

The suburban photographers charge 12s and 5s for the two sizes, and at the cheap houses the carte de visite size may be supplied as low as 2s 6d a dozen, while various attractive combinations are advertised, such as "a cabinet and three cartes for 2s 6d," or "three cabinets and three cartes for 5s."

As to employees the subdivisions of the business are numerous. An ordinary photographer may employ an operator, retoucher, printer and toner, spotter and finisher, and a general or dark room assistant. In large establishments specialization goes further, and men with considerable artistic ability find work as the "black and white" artist, who with his brush goes over the shadows and lights of the portrait upon the paper or opal. In small houses some of the

duties are combined till we come to the extreme case when the photographer undertakes all the work, with perhaps the assistance of one or two members of his own family.

Of the persons employed, the operator is the most important; he poses the figure, arranges the light and takes the photograph. When dry, the "negative," as the original picture is called, is passed to the retoucher. The retoucher prepares the negative for printing, softening the lines and shadows upon the face till at times all that is characteristic disappears. Nevertheless few people would be pleased with their own face if they saw a print from the photograph as it comes from the camera. Toning is a department of printing. The spotter deals with imperfections shown on the printed picture, and the finisher usually does the mounting and burnishing.

*Hours.*—In large works, business hours are from 9 A.M. to 6.30 or 7 P.M., with one hour allowed for dinner and thirty minutes for tea. At public studios the assistants come at 8.30 or 9 o'clock, though few pictures are taken before 11. The doors are closed at 7 P.M. or sometimes later, if artificial light is used. Where a large staff is kept, regular meal times are possible, but in small establishments this is difficult to arrange, especially for the operator. The proprietors of such studios frequently supply tea.

*Earnings.*—There is no fixed standard of pay, the class of work and quality of skill being the determining factors in the bargain. Weekly wages are paid, excepting for some retouchers working at home, who are paid a piece-rate. A few operators receive a commission on profits in addition to their wages. All the men we have seen state that the rate of pay has fallen during the past ten years, and some have supplied comparative figures to prove this. Employers say that wages have not fallen, but that the standard of proficiency has risen, so that it is only those who have not kept pace with this improvement who earn less. We are

inclined to think that while some men earn as much as ever, the proportion receiving high wages has decreased.

An operator in a second class house receives 25s to 35s a week, or if also a retoucher 5s more. In the best houses the rate would be 30s to 40s, rising to as high as three guineas for a man who can retouch, and, if required, work at enlargements with water colours and so fill up all his time. A retoucher earns from 20s to 35s, rising in a few cases to 42s or more. This work, however, is increasingly done by ladies in their own homes, at a fixed rate varying with the size of the picture from 4d to 1s. Printers earn ordinarily 25s to 30s, the best men, who understand all the different processes, receiving 30s to 40s and in a few cases considerably more. Assistant printers get 20s or 21s, and where several are employed the majority would not receive more than a guinea. Women engaged as spotters and finishers are paid from 12s to 18s a week, or if other duties are combined—as that of the reception of visitors—their pay may rise to 25s a week.

#### *Process Block Making.*

Closely connected with photography and engraving are the mechanical methods of reproducing drawings and photographs familiarly known as “process,” but bearing a number of technical names, which describe more or less accurately the work or its result, as photo-etching, photo-engraving, and zincography. The principle is the same in all cases: the picture is transferred to the prepared surface of a metal plate. Portions that are to be light are then etched with an acid, other parts being protected by a film of some gum upon which the acid does not act. The process was referred to in the chapter on printing (Vol. VI. p. 208). Being a comparatively new industry its special names are not included in the Census Dictionary, so that it is difficult to determine the heads under which the men are returned. It is probable that most appear with photo-

graphers or engravers, the trade names being usually compounds of one or other of these words.

The men have been drawn from many occupations; photography, lithography, and engraving having hitherto supplied most of the skilled men, but now young men trained in the shops are becoming available.

There are two main branches of the work: the tone or half-tone process for the reproduction of wash drawing and photographs, and the "line" process for pen-and-ink sketches. The former is the more costly, the blocks needing several immersions in the acid bath and more personal attention than for "line" engravings. Half-tone blocks cost about 10*d* a square inch, whilst the "line" process block can be produced for one-third of that price. But both one and the other are cheap compared to hand engraving, and this cheapness has made possible the catch-penny illustrated papers that flood the bookstalls.

Photographers employed on this work earn about 36*s* a week, the best men rising to 80*s*. Women engaged as developers receive about 16*s* a week. For etchers the minimum is about 30*s*, but good workmen easily command 50*s* or more. These men rock the plates in the acid bath, determine the duration of immersion, and upon the exactness of their work much of the beauty of the result depends. A few engravers are employed to go over the plates, after the acid has done its work, and earn about 40*s* a week. Mounters earn 36*s*; their duty is to mount the zinc plates on wood blocks, in order to raise them to the level of the ordinary type in readiness for printing.

### *Trade Organization.*

As might be expected in occupations of so personal a character, organization of the trade union type is very slight. The International Society of Wood Engravers is the only association registered under the Friendly Societies' Acts, but it is not, as its members are careful to state, a

trades union in the usual acceptation of the word. Its object is declared to be "the promotion of the fine art of wood engraving." The subscription is 6*d* a week with an entrance fee of 2*s*. During sickness the members are entitled to 10*s* per week for thirteen weeks, and 7*s* 6*d* a week for an additional thirteen weeks. The society holds occasional exhibitions of wood engravings, and has about eighty members in London.

Several attempts have been made to form a photographic trade union, but with uniform want of success. There is little cohesion amongst the employees. Those engaged in West London houses will not associate with the less fortunate members of the trade, with whom these attempts at organization usually originate. Nor has the Photographic Benevolent Association, started in 1873, received much support. After a struggling existence of over twenty years it is now in process of dissolution.

There are two organizations of employers: (1) the Photographic Section of the London Chamber of Commerce, of which the Photographic Copyright Union is an offshoot. This body has been successful in upholding the photographer's copyright in his work. (2) The National Association of Professional Photographers, which has for its objects the protection of the interests of the professional photographer generally. Its headquarters are at Birmingham, and it is mainly supported by provincial employers.

Social and educational societies connected with photography are legion. Of these, the Royal Photographic Society and the Camera Club are the best known. To the former are affiliated numerous local societies, such as the North London Photographic Society, the Clapham and Brixton Camera Club, and others. These societies hold meetings weekly or at other intervals, when papers are read or some novel process demonstrated; they also arrange for photographic excursions, exhibitions, and comparisons of

work. They are mainly supported by amateurs, to whom most of the large number of photographic journals owe their continued existence.

It is noteworthy that photography is the only instance on record of the professional being equalled and occasionally excelled by the amateur; the reason of this being undoubtedly that the best amateurs have approached their work with much higher aims than are common amongst professionals.

#### AMUSEMENT.

Englishmen are said to take their pleasures sadly. But, whether we admit this or no, we Londoners certainly amuse ourselves after our own fashion, and the provision of sights and sounds directly intended to delight us gives employment to more than 16,700 persons. The subdivision "musician," which, however, is largely concerned with teaching, is numerically the largest of all those included in this chapter. Under this heading the census enumerates over 10,400 individuals, divided almost equally between males and females, of whom in addition to teachers the most important are orchestra players, chorus singers, and organ-grinders. Following them come actors and ballet-dancers, and persons engaged in the service of theatres, including also music copyists, organ blowers, and artists' models, to the number all told of 4200. And lastly there is a mixed group of performers, showmen, cricketers, athletes, billiard markers, "turfites," and other sportsmen, who account for the remaining 2100.

We will begin with persons engaged in

##### *Theatres and Music Halls.*

In London there are (1896) thirty-three places of amusement licensed by the Lord Chamberlain for stage plays and nineteen by the London County Council. In addition there are 243 licenses granted by the Council for music or music and dancing. No official statistics of the numbers who nightly go



to theatres or music halls are available, and for the theatres alone are we in a position to make any estimate that will fairly approximate to the truth. Of the fifty-two places licensed for play-acting, only forty-four are regular theatres, the rest being vestry halls or skating rinks. These forty-four theatres can seat 58,569 persons, and if we take them to be half full for seven performances we arrive at a total of 205,000 attendances per week. They would not probably be open for more than nine months in the year.

The known seating capacity of 153 places licensed for music and dancing is for 132,738 persons. Music halls seldom give afternoon shows, and therefore these places if filled for six performances would accommodate nearly 800,000 persons in the course of a week. More than this we cannot say. Many people come and go, and some of the less fashionable halls give two distinct performances each night, so that it is sometimes possible for a manager to fill his hall twice over in the course of an evening. Thus the seating capacity forms no adequate test of the numbers attending. In addition, there are a great number of unlicensed clubs which give regular entertainments of the music hall type to their members.

\* The box-office, the auditorium, and the stage are probably already familiar to most people. But the part of the theatre which more immediately concerns us lies behind the curtain, and is approached through the stage-door. This extremely unassuming aperture is placed at the back of the theatre, so as to enable the artistes to reach their respective quarters without having to pass through the auditorium. Immediately inside is the time-keeper's office. Farther in, we come to the rooms and workshops of the

\* We are indebted to Mr. C. H. d'E. Leppington for the principal part of the following account of theatrical employes. The enquiry was undertaken on our behalf, but the results were first published in the *National Review*, April, 1891. All facts and figures given here have since been brought up to date.

stage-carpenter and head property-man, both extremely important functionaries, of whom more will be said later; while upstairs, or downstairs in at least one instance, are the dressing-rooms, where the actors and actresses are dressed by the dressers. The green-room is usually near the stage, and is the waiting-room for the leading artistes in the intervals of their parts. In large theatres it is very comfortably, not to say luxuriously, fitted up. It is not accessible to ladies of the ballet, still less to supers. In minor theatres it is not found at all.

To reach that portion of the stage which alone is visible to the audience, we have to pass through the wings or flats. Both wings and flats are pieces of side scenery, but whereas the wings present their edges to the actor and there is space between them for entrances and exits, the "flats" are always broadside on and usually represent the side wall of a house or room whose only opening is a window, door or chimney. The first glimpse the audience has of an actor is as he steps forward from the wing or through the flat. Below the floor of the stage is the dock or mezzanine, where some of the scene-shifting apparatus is placed, and below this again there is often a well or cellar for the storage of old scenery. Overhead, above the wings, at about the level of the top tier of boxes, are the flies or galleries which run round the two sides of the stage. They have a rather nautical aspect, from the number of ropes and pulleys which stretch from them upwards across the stage, and which are part of the mechanism for shifting the scenes, an operation which is mainly carried on from the flies. Here, too, is sometimes part of the lime-light apparatus; while high overhead is an open frame-work of wood, called the gridiron, or, more briefly, the "grid," where the pulleys above referred to are placed. The flies have sometimes more than one floor.

In command of all the persons employed behind the curtain in a theatre is the stage manager. Below him

there is an assistant stage manager, who is often prompter as well, and a call-boy. These form a department by themselves and are, so to speak, potential actors. In most cases they have already acted on the stage and in all cases they would be pleased to do so. Then there are the actors and actresses and other performers, and finally those who are not, and with certain reservations never wish to become, actors; such as the carpenters and scene-shifters, the box-office staff and the attendants in the auditorium. In London the acting or business manager never acts. He is responsible solely for those parts of the theatre which are situated in front of the curtain.

However distinct the actor's sphere may be from that of the super and the other employees, there is a certain amount of interchange between them. In the minor theatres, at all events, there is no hard-and-fast rule to prevent an intelligent assistant behind the scenes from taking a small part and thus working his way up; and, on the other hand, the humbler actors are sometimes glad while out of an engagement to fill an inferior post at the box-office or as prompter. In point of remuneration there is not much to choose between the money earned by a skilled mechanic and a subordinate actor. If anything, the mechanic as such earns the larger sum of the two, and only takes to acting if he finds that he has a decided gift for it.

We will begin with employees other than actors. And first we note that there are two great departments, the heads of which, like foremen in factories, have power to engage and discharge their subordinates, while they are themselves responsible directly to the stage-manager. These are the stage-carpenter, and the property-master, to whom in large theatres may be added the wardrobe-mistress. When a play is to be brought out, these officers are furnished with a list of the various articles which will be required in their departments for each scene, and it is their business to provide them.

Let us take first the stage-carpenter and his department. His remuneration is pretty high (£3 to £5 per week), for he must be a practical workman, and, at the same time, a man of initiative and resource, who can be relied on to carry out his work without supervision. It is his business to construct and fit together the different parts of the scenery, to be afterwards painted by the scene-painter. As he is expected to give his whole time, he is not paid for overtime. Whilst a new play is being prepared and introduced on the stage he has to work night and day, but so long as a play is running he has a comparatively easy berth. With an assistant carpenter he superintends the shifting of the scenes. As on shipboard we have larboard and starboard, and as in a church the choir is divided into *decani* and *cantores*, so in theatres the stage is divided into the "prompt" side, on which the prompter has his post, and the "opposite prompt," or "o.p." side. The head stage-carpenter takes charge of one side, and his assistant of the other; and during the performance each is responsible for the scenery on his own side.

Besides the assistant stage-carpenter, paid 40s to 50s a week, who, like his principal, is a permanent officer, there are jobbing carpenters who specially devote themselves to theatrical work, and who go from theatre to theatre wherever they hear that men are wanted. For such men work is very uncertain; for a few days, or perhaps a week or two, they have as much work as they can get through, and then, for weeks, they are without a job. Under stage-carpenters receive 8d or 8½d per hour, and a few 9d. Very few make the regulation 9½d. The Theatrical and Music Hall Operatives' Trade Union with about 750 members out of an estimated total of fifteen hundred who might belong, has a rule to the effect that "theatrical carpenters shall be paid not less than the standard rate of the London Building Trades' Federation," but it is not strictly enforced.

Scene-shifting is not a trade by itself, and scene-shifters do not go through an apprenticeship. But it requires considerable accuracy of eye and dexterity of hand to adjust the different parts of the scenery exactly in place with the minimum of noise and the maximum of speed. And the furniture and fittings must retain in each subsequent performance the positions assigned them at rehearsal.

The gas-man who is under the control of the stage-manager, has to perform the very important duty of seeing that the light is cast on the stage so as to make the scenery and actors appear as real as possible, and that it is properly regulated for effects of twilight, chiaroscuro, &c. The lime-light apparatus may be worked from the flies, or from perches placed on either side of the proscenium, or even from the stage itself.

The property-master to whom we pass next has to find, or prepare, the various properties needed. Under this name are included furniture, actors' costumes (in theatres where there is no wardrobe-mistress), and all odds and ends which may chance to be required in the course of a play.

The property-master must be a man of resource who can effect hasty repairs, and, if need be, himself make the simpler articles. There is no special course of training to be gone through for the post, but to have learnt some mechanical trade is a very good introduction to it. The property-master often has men to assist him, and they, like himself, must be all-round men. They may be called upon to make anything, from a stage razor to a railway train. Perfect finish is unnecessary, but there must be a semblance of perfection. Success of effect depends on shape and colouring, and wire-workers and house-painters have consequently a certain preference; an elementary acquaintance with the mysteries of carpentry, upholstery and mechanics should also be added. By profession, indeed, the property man is jack of all trades. For the best men 5s per day of eight hours is usual, and

for second class men 4s. They are engaged in their greatest numbers before the actual production of a piece, and just about Christmas, overtime is almost inevitable. It is paid at the rate of time and a half. There is a great variation in the numbers of men employed at different seasons. One master stated that whereas he might only have four men in the autumn he would employ sixty during the six weeks preceding Christmas, and that, during these weeks, the men often earned double money owing to the amount of overtime. The London demand is not alone responsible for this sudden rush, for many of the properties used in provincial pantomimes are made in and sent out from the metropolis. The assistants of the master-carpenter, property-master and gas-man are divided into bodies of night-men and day-men. Night-men only come at night and shift the scenes and properties between the acts of a performance, while day-men, arriving in the morning about 10 or 10.30 to attend to repairs during the day, generally remain on during the evening. Day-men, who are practically carpenters' labourers, receive 4s a day and 2s for every night for which they are on duty. Night-men are paid almost invariably 2s per performance.

The wardrobe-mistress's department is analogous to the property-master's. As he is custodian of the furniture, so is she custodian of the costumes; and, either single-handed or with the aid of one or more needle-women, does the necessary repairing, and sometimes adapts costumes designed for one piece to the exigencies of some other. The same person who is needle-woman by day is often dresser by night, and in this way earns a double wage. Prominent actors, especially if they are also managers, have their own dressers, who are, so to speak, specialized valets or ladies-maids. The dresser has sometimes to assist in the by no means simple process of "making up." The actors do most of this themselves, however. The number of actors on whom one dresser can attend will depend, of course, on the amount

of elaboration which their toilettes may require. Half a dozen is very common. His tips are an important auxiliary to the dresser's money, for he usually gets a shilling a week from each gentleman he dresses, in addition to his standing wages of 6s to 12s per week, and this system of tipping has survived all attempts to put it down by prohibitory rules.

*Scene-painters.*—A scene-painter is sometimes attached to the permanent staff of a theatre, and sometimes he is engaged for the job. More often the chief part of the scenery is contracted out to a "scenic artist" with a studio of his own, and only the finishing touches or smaller pieces are executed in the theatre painting room.

An artist with his assistant and a colour grinder were formerly included in the regular staff of every theatre, and in exceptional cases are so still. But during the last ten years the tendency has been to contract the work out more and more, so that at the present day the work of scene-painting has become almost entirely detached from the theatre, and forms a small industry by itself. It is said that the County Council do not favour painting rooms in a theatre for fear of fire, but this can only be accepted as a partial reason, since distemper and not oil or turpentine is the usual medium for the colours. The real explanation lies probably in the saving of expense. Long runs of one piece are now of so frequent occurrence that it would not pay to maintain even one artist upon the regular staff throughout the year. Hence a manager saves money in the end by giving the work out even though he pays rather more for the actual painting of any one piece of scenery. The industry gives employment altogether to under one hundred persons of whom about twelve may be employers. Work is very irregular and comes in sudden bursts, the busiest months being November to April and the slackest June and July. The complaint is that managers only give the shortest possible notice of their coming requirements, so that in the busy season Sunday work is usual and all-night

sittings, or rather standings, are far from rare. Scene-painters are all time-workers. The majority of them are men who have attended regular art schools, or even still do so. A few are formally indentured to master scene-painters. The ordinary hours are from 10 A.M. to 7 or 8 P.M. for six days a week. Some stop at 2 on Saturdays, but it is not usual. An artist permanently attached to a theatre will receive £10 per week, assistant artists from £2 to £4, and beginners about 30s. One employer whom we saw, paid overtime as soon as forty-four hours had been worked, at one-third extra, but in most places nothing extra is allowed. Colourmen are practically first class labourers and earn from 24s to 28s per week throughout the year.

*Front Staff.*—The “front” staff, as it is termed, comprises check-takers (or ticket collectors), and attendants, who with a fireman and one or two cleaners complete the table of persons usually employed in a theatre. Of the “show” staff—*i.e.* those who appear on the stage and the orchestra—we will speak later.

Members of the front-staff are often engaged and paid by contractors who, in that case, rent from the theatre manager the right of selling programmes and refreshments. The employees here are drawn from the ranks of those who in the day time are working as clerks, drapers, and stationers’ assistants, and usually receive 2s per performance.

Theatre cleaners are paid 12s or 13s per week. The magnificent lackey, who sometimes appears before the public in order to arrange a carpet end under the drop scene, is known as a “green-coat man,” and ranks somewhat higher than the ordinary night-men in that he is paid 2s 6d instead of 2s for his services.

It must be remembered that, with the exception of the heads of the various departments, none of the persons already mentioned look upon theatrical work as the sole business of their lives. House painters and decorators,



bricklayers' labourers, Covent Garden porters, even dockers in the East End, masons and printers' labourers and general labourers of all sorts are drawn upon by the theatre at night after their other work is done. Theatres are busiest during the Christmas holidays, when work for many of these men is slackest, and this employment helps not a few to tide over the period of enforced idleness in their own trade. Any estimate, therefore, of their yearly income must be made in conjunction with the money they are able to earn in their ordinary avocations, and it is impossible here to do more than state the amounts paid to theatrical operatives while actually engaged in theatres.

So far we have been dealing with a class of employees who, all-important as their functions are to the *mise-en-scène*, keep themselves modestly in the background, so as to leave the spectator no trace of their existence. We have next to deal with the functionaries who are actually in evidence on the boards. These are the actors, the chorus-singers, the *corps de ballet*, the pantomime-children, and the supers. And there are also the members of the band (whose post, indeed, is not upon, but in front of the stage), whose position will be considered in a subsequent portion of this article, along with that of orchestral performers generally. We will begin at the lowest rung, namely, the supers.

*Supers.*—The supers, or to give them their full title, the supernumeraries, are recruited by the super-master, who keeps a list of the names and addresses of those for whom he can send as occasion requires. They have to be drilled like a regimental company to teach them the manoeuvres they have to go through in each scene. The super has generally no opportunity of showing any originality in the part allotted to him. His every gesture is prescribed for him beforehand, and all he does is in dumb show. He has simply to do precisely as he is told. There is little chance in first-rate theatres of his rising to be anything better than

a super. In the minor theatres, where a less rigid standard of manners and education is demanded, a super may now and then have a chance of promotion.

Supers are drawn from all sorts and conditions. They almost always follow some other calling, if it be but the humble one of sandwich-man or market porter. Their money varies from 1s for "odd" men to 1s 6d for regular men per performance in minor theatres, and from 2s to 2s 6d in the larger West End houses. A super-master receives a weekly wage of from 15s to 30s, in accordance with the character of the theatre to which he belongs, and is able to add to this sum a little by admitting persons from the outside who are willing to come for the "fun of the thing," and pocketing their money. In the West End this is often done. Such, indeed, is the magnetic power of the stage that some persons will even pay to be admitted to the boards in the humblest capacity.

Though the general custom is for each theatre to engage its supers through its own super-master, still the enlisting of supers and letting them out to theatres is said to have become of late an independent, though not as yet, it seems, a very extensive business.

*Ballet.*—Principal dancers are divided into several grades. The salaries of the highest grade range from five guineas a week to £20. The majority of these are foreigners, because it is said that the English girl will not train with sufficient assiduity to reach perfection.\* Next to them come the "front eight" of the ballet dancers proper, then the middle rows, and lastly the back rows and "extras," though these last are not strictly members of the ballet.

A dancer's position in the rows is determined by her

\* The dancing schools in Milan still supply the English stage with the best dancers, and so maintain the traditions of the past, though it must be said that it is a long time since a Taglioni has made her appearance here.

proficiency and by her personal appearance. The back rows are composed of the beginners, the *passées*, and the unskilled. So long as a dancer retains the necessary amount of agility, she can remain on the boards, in spite of advancing years, well on into middle life; mother and daughter have danced in the same ballet before now. The dresser's art is quite equal to supplying the necessary appearance of youth.

Those who are skilful enough and fortunate enough to get into the *corps de ballet* of a house such as the Alhambra or Empire have pretty regular employment all the year round; but a great number can only obtain temporary engagements at pantomime time or other busy seasons. At other times they go on tour in the country, live with their parents (who are usually of the working class), or turn dressmakers and needle-women, or may have recourse to less reputable modes of obtaining a livelihood. It is only fair to add, however, as to character, that the appearance of the ballet girls as they leave the theatre very much resembles that of any other body of young women leaving a respectable place of business.

The front row of a regular ballet receives 30s to 35s for a week of seven or less performances. For "day shows" or "matinées" above this number half pay is given. In pantomime time the favoured few in the front line may be able to count on 40s per week for evening performances, and during the Christmas run of a popular piece will earn £3 per week of twelve performances for six or eight weeks. In the second row, where appearance is not of so much importance, not more than half the sum is earned, while the "extra ladies," as the members of the back row are usually termed, will make something between 12s 6d and 18s per week. Not many earn less than 15s. Girls who do dress-making or are milliners or even domestic servants in the summer, often turn to the ballet in winter. Here, again, instances of the extraordinary attraction of the

stage are given, and it was said that the sudden demand for dancers to fill the huge ballets at Olympia had the effect of emptying the small houses in West Kensington of their servants.

In reckoning the earnings of a ballet dancer we must remember that she has generally to find her own tights and shoes, though in one or two places both these are found for her. Lisle thread or spun silk tights may be had for 8s or 10s, but really good silk tights cost from 15s 6d to 21s. Otherwise character costumes are found by the management. Shoes cost from 2s 6d to 5s, and last three or four weeks; this, however, depends very much on the condition of the flooring, and on the wearer's step, a heavy tread wearing out the shoes sooner than a light one. Sometimes, though very rarely, feathers, ribbons, and such-like articles have also to be found by the artiste. A week's notice is usually given to terminate an engagement where it has not been made for a fixed period.

The pantomime season opens on Boxing night, but daily rehearsals will have been going on for from three to six weeks previously. The performers are paid for their attendance during the last week (sometimes the last fortnight) of the rehearsal. It is no easy task to drill a troop of perhaps two or three score of youngsters (some stupid, some recalcitrant) to a faultless performance of long-continued concerted action; and as the weeks fly past, and the spectre of the opening night looms nearer and nearer, rehearsals follow quicker and last longer, till (to quote one particular case) the troupe is summoned for 4 o'clock on Christmas Eve, and kept at it for the next twelve hours straight off, in view of the opening on Boxing night.

To qualify for a ballet dancer requires a long training, and there are several training-schools where children are apprenticed by their parents, and where lessons are given by professionals in particular dances at prices

varying from 1s to 5s. These training-schools contract with the management of theatres to supply pantomime children and ballet dancers. As the children become too old for the pantomime, they are taken to train for the ballet. There appears to be no difference in the rates of payment of pantomime children and dancers engaged through contractors and that of those engaged directly by the management itself, assuming the class of theatre and the nature of the performance to be the same in both cases. But as the contractor naturally favours his pupils, they have in this way a better chance of regular employment than other children. In addition to this, the more proficient pupils are set to teach the others, and for this they receive extra pay of from 10s to 20s a week.

Children employed in theatres come, like others, within the scope of the Public Elementary Education Acts. So long as these children are only engaged during the short pantomime season, they may be able to put in a sufficient number of school attendances to avoid prosecution. But when the pantomime has an extraordinary run of several months, or the children are pretty constantly engaged throughout the year in theatres or training-schools, the case alters. The exigencies of rehearsals and *matinées* will not allow of their attending at the normal school-hours. This difficulty is met to some extent, as in the case of choristers in cathedrals, by holding classes specially for the attendance of such children at such times as they are disengaged. How far this arrangement is generally adopted is hardly to be ascertained, but it has been estimated by the advocates of legislative intervention to affect only about 5 per cent. of the thousand children engaged on the stage. An Act passed in 1889 (52 and 53 Vict., c. 41) absolutely prohibits the employment of children under seven on the stage in any capacity and on any terms, and a licence is required for the employment of children between seven and ten.

They have to appear personally in company with their parents or guardians in order to obtain the necessary permission from a police magistrate, so that the probabilities of suffering and overstraining are reduced to a minimum. The children themselves enjoy dancing, although it must be admitted that the excitement of the theatre is hardly likely to have any beneficial effect on them.

As to their earnings, small girls of seven to ten or twelve years of age receive 10s for six or seven performances and boys of ten to sixteen years of age 10s 6d to 18s 6d.

*Artists' Models*—Artists' models sometimes have been and often become ballet-girls, and may therefore be mentioned here. The regular pay for models whether for face or figure is 7s for a whole day, including two meals, and 3s 6d or 5s for half a day. At the Royal Academy they receive a good deal more—54s a week—but their engagement at these rates does not last for more than one month, because the custom is for each visiting academician to bring a model with him for his term as a lecturer. Male models are very frequently Italians, and the profession runs in families. Female models as such lead a pleasant life, and in the end often marry one or other of those to whom they have been sitting. Those of them who are not fortunate enough to do this not infrequently end by going on the stage.

*Theatrical Choristers*.—The chorus-singer is a person of increasing importance in these days of musical burlesque and light opera. Though not actors, these artistes appear in costume, and often have to illustrate their songs with more or less action. Now and then some members of the chorus may have to take a more conspicuous part. They may have to speak a few sentences, and it may be difficult to decide whether they are minor actors or leading chorus-singers.

The average payment to theatrical choristers is 5s for each of seven performances, both for men and women, and

half the sum for any extra day shows. The minimum rate demanded by the Theatrical Choristers' Association is 35s per week in London, and 40s per week when playing in the provinces. Good voices coupled with good looks can command rather more, while inferior ones are not worth more than 10s or 12s per week. Theatre rehearsals are not paid for, but for single engagements in special choirs, or at smoking concerts, where 21s is paid to each singer for the evening, 5s is usually given for one or more rehearsals. Regular employment depends upon the run of a piece, and in a general way a singer is fortunate if he or she can secure nine months' work in the year. Chorus-singers, who are chiefly drawn from the class of small shop-keepers, clerks and professional men, often add to their incomes by singing in churches and elsewhere in the day-time and on Sundays.

Dressers, of whom one is appointed to about every six members of the theatrical chorus and ballet, receive 12s per week and usually make at least 3s per week more in tips.

*Actors.*—To turn now to those who are actors. At the bottom of the scale there is the "general utility man" who has only a walking part and does not open his mouth more than once or twice in the evening. He owes his name to the fact that he is supposed to be able to fill a small part whenever his services may be required. There is also the "walking lady." Then there are "heavy business" or villain's parts, and "low comedian's" parts and "juvenile's," which last are the minor lover's parts.

What is known as the stock company system has of late years given place more and more to the system of touring companies and of long runs. In the former system, the bond of union which holds a company of actors together is local; it is the theatre to which they are attached, with its repertory of plays in which they are all versed, and which they represent in succession at brief intervals. In the latter system, the bond is not the place but the piece which

the company has been formed to represent, whether in one given locality, or in a succession of localities.

The old stock company system has been credited with possessing greater merit as a school of acting than the system now in vogue. The frequent change of the plays put on the stage gave the actor more opportunity of developing his powers than he can have in a single character, to the exclusive representation of which he is bound for several months, or even for a year or two.

Some scope for training is, however, still afforded by the custom of "under-studies." These are young actors who study a major part in addition to their own in order to be able to serve as substitute in case of need. And it is not unusual for actors to take dramatic pupils.

The chief methods of obtaining engagements are, (1) by advertising, (2) through an agent, (3) by applying directly to the management. Agents charge commissions varying between 5 and 10 per cent. on the first fortnight's salary, and are to be found in great numbers in and about the Strand.

The remuneration of actors varies immensely. The same actor's pay will vary, not only according to his own capability, which may fluctuate greatly at different stages in his career, but according to the character he assumes, and the theatre or company in which he is acting. From 30s to £4 or £5 a week is as accurate an estimate as can be given for the ordinary run. If an actor has not made a reputation by the time he is forty, his market value is pretty sure to decrease as age approaches.

Beginners often pay a premium ; after some experience they make about 30s a week. Retaining fees are given by some managers to actors (male and female) for the privilege of having first claim on their services. These fees are paid whether the actor is engaged or not, and when this is done it is only "by the kind permission" of the manager that he or she may accept a place elsewhere.



The practice as regards extra payment for matinées varies; it is sometimes at the same rate as for evening performances, and sometimes half as much. The most usual form of engagement now is for seven performances; while any extra matinées are paid at half rates; occasionally no extra pay at all is given. Rehearsals are considered as all in the day's work, and accordingly actors attend them *ad libitum* without further remuneration, the practice as to pantomime rehearsals previously alluded to being an exception to this rule. Assistants engaged by the day are paid extra wages at the full rate for dress rehearsals. At these dress rehearsals the actors appear in costume, and the play is gone through with all the adjuncts used at the public performance; a few spectators, too, are invited in order to discover flaws and suggest improvements.

Costumes, in the technical sense of the word, that is, clothes which are not worn in every-day life, are found by the management; but such clothes as are ordinarily worn in private life, the actor provides for himself.

As in some other walks of life, so amongst actors, and especially amongst the lesser fry the irregularity and uncertainty of employment to which they are so frequently subject render the average rate of income to be made on the stage far smaller than it at first sight appears, and this drawback applies not only to acting but to the subsidiary occupations of dancing and singing. Whilst the pantomime holds possession of the boards, the actors usually to be seen there at other seasons are replaced by children and music hall artistes. It is rarely that an actor supplements his professional labours by other employment; and though such a practice is not uncommon among the lower grades of dancers and chorus-people, even in their case it is difficult to dovetail work of a different nature in between spells of theatrical engagements. The life and excitement of the stage is but a poor preparative for the drudgery of clerkage or needle-work, and the constant

liability to be called back to the stage must enhance the difficulty.

There are great temptations therefore towards less reputable forms of earning a livelihood ; but all round, and from top to bottom, there has been, during the last ten years, a great rise in the social status of those connected with the stage.

So far we have dealt only with the legitimate drama and its accessory industries. There is still the world of music halls, variety entertainments and circuses to be considered.

*Music Halls.*—Music halls appeal to a far larger class of pleasure-seekers than theatres. Prices are not so high, and the entertainment provided does not, as a rule, demand an undivided attention. You can smoke and drink at your ease while the entertainment is going on, for a ledge fixed at the back of the seat of the man in front of you serves as a table on which to place your glass ; and you may arrive late or go away early and be blessed by the management for doing so. Hence the “halls” are especially favoured by young men. But by no means exclusively so, for in the East End of London and South of the Thames, many will take their wives and children or sweethearts with them to pass a happy evening. In the working men’s clubs of London, of which there are 165 affiliated to the “Club and Institute Union”—to say nothing of those which are not—it is usual to offer a variety entertainment to members two or sometimes even three times a week, and these are largely patronized.

The great difference between an actor in a theatre and a music hall “artiste” is that whereas the first has his part provided for him, the second has to depend upon his own individual efforts and abilities. Even in “sketches,”\*

\* There are various types of sketch recognized by the profession, such as the “Burlesque Sketch,” the “Negro Sketch,” the “Comic Knock-about Sketch,” the “Sensational Sketch,” the “Romantic Sketch,” the “Pantomime Sketch,” and Comedy.

music hall artistes bring their own company and their own piece, and the manager of the hall has nothing to do but to mount it in the matter of scenery. Lambeth and Brixton are the centres in London for music hall performers.

The special advantage of music hall work lies in the possibility of fulfilling engagements, or "turns" as they are called, at two or three places in one evening. Performances usually last from 7.45 p.m. to 11.30, and even a little later, and the number of turns offered to the public during these hours varies between ten and thirty. The worst paid turn is the first turn, and the best are those between 9.30 and 11 p.m. Some men manage four turns in an evening, *i.e.* four separate appearances in four different places.

A working-man's club would pay from 3s 6d to 5s a turn, consisting of two or three songs and any encores that might be demanded, and offer about ten turns to an audience during the evening. A small music hall offers about 20s per week for the worst turn, and from £3 to £7 to the "star" in the most favoured ones. A West End house would give £4 per week for the "padding" or first turns, while, for later turns, they give as much as £25 and even more. For a good man, two early turns at £9 each, two good turns at £25, and one late turn at £12, making £80 per week for five turns per night, would be possible, and even not uncommon.

The yearly income of men on the music hall stage was put by one who was conversant with all branches of the profession at :—

£150 to £400 for third-rate men.

£400 to £700 for second-rate men.

£1000 to £3000 for first-rate men.

The earnings of these artistes are higher than that of the corresponding class of actors ; but, at the same time, they have liabilities to meet from which the actor is free. For

instance, the singer has to pay for the right to sing songs in public, besides having to find costumes for himself, and cab-hire is a heavy charge. Moreover, the hurry in and out of clothes and to and from halls is wearing, so that men are nearly always past their best at fifty, and a very large number, after a short period of popularity, drop out at a much earlier age.

Many young men and young women make their first start at a "friendly lead," "sing-song," or "smoker": often they have received their early musical training in a Sunday-school or church choir. Once started, the question for those who desire to become professionals is how to obtain engagements. This is done by advertisement—*e.g.* the *Era* newspaper has the front half of its advertisements devoted to actors and actresses and the back half to music hall artistes—and by agents, as for theatres, and also by going round and asking to be tried and taken on, and lastly by attending at that regular rendezvous of out-of-work artistes, the corner of the York Road and Waterloo Road in Lambeth. Here on Monday mornings, at what is variously known as "Poverty Junction" or "Out-at-elbows' Corner," may be seen a crowd of professionals in search of employment, while, moving among them, are a few managers of clubs and small halls engaged in filling up their programme for the ensuing week.

Acrobat troupes are very frequently composed of members of one family. The father, an acrobat employed perhaps by the proprietor of a circus, has brought up his children to his own trade, and, as soon as they are sufficiently expert, he forms them into a troupe on his own account, adding to it sometimes one or two outsiders. Then he lets out its services to circus and music hall proprietors at a fixed rate per week, or for a specified period. What that rate is will vary immensely. A "turn" for which one troupe will charge £5, another, equally skilful, but not so well known, will undertake for one-tenth of that sum in

order to seize the chance of advertising itself. Five or six pounds a week is not a very high salary for a single acrobat. It is to be remembered, however, that a troupe finds its own costumes and equipments, and that their earnings have to support the members during the intervals between engagements; so that £20 or £30 a week divided amongst them does not always mean a much higher annual income for each than an artisan in regular work enjoys. Of course, as with singers and actors, so with acrobats and other performers, such as jugglers, ventriloquists, dancers, etc., etc., once a man has made a name with the public, he is sure of a good income, counted by hundreds, and now and then by thousands.

The training of acrobats and circus-riders, besides being often conducted on the patriarchal system above described, forms an industry by itself. Children are apprenticed to the trainer at about fourteen or fifteen. As in many other trades, they receive a small salary during the latter portion of their apprenticeship. When they have attained a certain amount of dexterity, the trainer lets them out to the circus-proprietor, who pays the trainer for their services at a much higher rate than the pupils themselves are paid, for the trainer has to indemnify himself for the labour and expense of breaking them in, a process very troublesome to the teacher, and anything but easy for the pupils, who are said to have a very hard life.

*Musicians.*—The orchestra, though unseen, plays no unimportant part in the success of a piece, especially in these days of musical burlesque. But, except at concerts, the efforts of orchestral players are hardly recognized by the general public. A want is felt when they are absent—but it only occasionally happens that applause is vouchsafed to them directly. But though to some extent unrecognized, orchestra players are numerically important. It is stated that there are nearly two thousand of them in London, of

whom a great number are foreigners, tempted over by the prospect of larger pay with freedom from compulsory military service which this country offers.

Work is more regular in a music hall than in a theatre, because the halls are usually open all the year round, whereas most theatres are closed for two, three, and even four of the autumn months.

As we have seen, there are grades both of theatres and music halls, and the rates of remuneration for musicians vary accordingly. The best "halls" have perhaps the pick of the players, because of the regular work they can offer. In them, and in first-class theatres, subordinate players are paid 35*s* to 42*s* for seven performances, and principals 42*s* to 50*s*, rates which run down in second-class houses to 25*s* to 35*s* for subordinates, 30*s* to 40*s* for principals. In opera bouffe principals receive 45*s* to 70*s*, but there is no corresponding increase for the rank and file. Grand opera again offers, for a short three months, 50*s* to 63*s* for "seconds," and 63*s* to 105*s* for principals. These rates include all the necessary rehearsals. In addition, music lessons and music copying at from 3*d* to 6*d* per page, Sunday concerts and church music at from 5*s* to 21*s* for each performance, afford the means of further increasing the annual income. Again, conductors, with some exceptions, are, as a rule, willing to give leave to members of an orchestra to provide a deputy whenever they have a chance of playing in a concert. The regular fee for concerts is 21*s*, and 42*s* for principals. Dances during the London season also bring in from 14*s* to 18*s* to players, though there are instances of much lower sums being offered and accepted. The best men do not care for this class of work, for the long hours and bad air unfit them for the more regular business of the day. Besides, the great temptation to drink, owing to the fact that more liquid than solid refreshment is offered to players by hosts

thinking only of the success of their own ball, has been the first step in the ruin of many of them.

In the autumn, when there is little to be done in London, many try to secure an engagement at some seaside resort, and so combine business with a change of air. The ordinary steps in the career of a young man who has received a musical training, whether at home or abroad, or at the Royal College of Music, are as follows:—He begins in a small theatre band; gradually he works his way up to larger theatres, whence he passes to better-class music halls, and finally he may be engaged in orchestral concert work, and become sufficiently well known to be able to fill up his time entirely with concerts and lessons.

### *Street Musicians.*

We must turn now from the players of music whom we go to hear, to organ-grinders and street musicians, who, like the costermonger, bring their wares with them.

“Grinder, who serenely grindest  
At my door the hundredth psalm,  
Till thou ultimately findest  
Pence in thine unwashen palm.”\*

Thirty years have seen some changes in organ life, but it is the instrument and not the man that most has altered. The grinder is still the “jocund-hearted,” “winsome, grinsome” Italian, and the effect of his music—of which “half a bar sets several couple waltzing in convenient spots”—is still the same.

The one-legged hurdy-gurdy has given way to the more daring piano on wheels. In place of a man with a monkey, two women, or a man and a woman, or even two men are required to drag the modern instrument from place to place. A baby, too, in its cradle, not infrequently forms part of the company, and, lashed beside the organ, sleeps and

\* *Vide* poem of C. S. Calverley, entitled “Lines on hearing the organ.”

wakes in blissful carelessness of noise and jolting, wind and weather. The father pulls in the shafts of the barrow on which the piano is mounted, while the mother tugs at the looped leather strap hanging down on the near side. The system of harness is not unlike that so common in Italy, where, in addition to the one animal for which a cart is built, another is often attached by a rope outside the shafts.

A few Englishmen enter the trade from time to time, but grinding is now as it always has been, an essentially Italian industry.

An organ may be hired at sums varying from 1s 4d to 2s 6d, according to its quality, for the whole or any part of a day, or at from 7s to 12s per week payable in advance. Many possess their own instruments, which they stow away at night on the ground-floor of the great organ factories, and pay a small rent for so doing. A new organ costs from £18 to £25 according to the number of hammers, and the business of letting them out is therefore a profitable one—so much so that one cab proprietor is said to have sold off his cabs, and instead to have bought in a stock of piano organs. Those who buy their own organs usually pay for their purchases in a lump sum, and not by instalments, a fact which, perhaps, throws some light on the successful economy practised by Italians in this country.

In the census of Italians resident in London, made for their Government in 1895, it was reckoned that there were one thousand organ-grinders and two thousand vendors of ice-creams, chestnuts, and potatoes in the Holborn colony. To a certain extent the work is interchangeable. In summer it may be more profitable to sell ice-creams than to “grind,” especially during the heat of the day. In winter, again, when it is very cold, potatoes and hot drinks are more comforting to the inner man than even the finest performance of “Her golden hair was hanging down her back.”

Summer is the busiest time for grinders, and it is then



that they can earn most money. Week-day evenings and Saturday afternoons often yield large returns. Race meetings also, and Bank Holidays, are red-letter days in the grinder's life if the weather be fine. In winter, and especially in January and February, the legitimate trade is swamped by an influx of English labourers out of work. Englishmen are more enterprising but less attractive and less industrious in this business than Italians. They will hire children to dance for them, and put up placards on their organ appealing to the charity of the passer-by, in the hope of attracting a crowd; then, while one plays another goes round with his hat collecting money—practices to which the Italians rarely resort. For the Italian, it is the recognized business of his life, and therefore respectable. While for the Englishman it is another form of begging. Genuine English grinders, generally with one arm or one leg, do exist, but there are not many of them.

On a bad day an organ-grinder may make 3s 6d, from which he will have to deduct the cost of hire. An average day in summer will yield 10s 6d, and a race meeting or fine Bank Holiday, with a little good fortune, may bring in anything from 15s to two or three sovereigns. Against this must be set the rainy days with the extra labour of pulling the instrument through muddy roads for which there is no return. But, when all allowances have been made, the grinder who has built up a connection for himself, and knows where and when there are nursemaids and children and public-houses to welcome him, can earn a considerable sum of money. As a class, they are drawn from the peasants in the neighbourhood of Naples, in the South of Italy, and Piacenza in the Centre. Every two or three years they return home, and many are said to have saved enough to buy a small farm or vineyard in their native land. When first they come over they work for a "padrone," or master grinder, who will pay a man 1s a day to go out with him. Women are hired in the same way for 6d or 1s. Many of

the so-called Italian girls are Irish girls dressed up in Italian clothes, but many also are really Italians and wives of the men whom they accompany. The evil custom of taking children of ten or twelve years of age out with the organ has been successfully repressed by the vigilance of the Italian Government, and the publicity given to the abuses to which the system was liable in a paper issued by the Charity Organization Society in 1877.

After the organ, the most familiar street music is that of the German band. Success for members of a band depends, even more than for grinders, upon establishing a claim to certain streets at certain times. Each band respects the "pitches" of others. The majority of players are young Germans who have just come over, and have not yet been taken on in an orchestra, or found their legs as waiters, or they are old men whose life in a strange land has been a failure. They have not the pleasant manners of the Italian, but what they lack in this respect they make up for in the pertinacity with which they ring the front-door bell of every house in the street in which they play, in quest of recompense. Their efforts are almost entirely confined to the West End of London, and what money they make is said to come mainly from the pockets of servant-maids, old ladies, and hotel-keepers. Their lot is not an enviable one, for frequently their music is of a character more than usually calculated to rouse the ire of the British householder. Even on wet days, when their state is indeed pitiable, they must have to put up with many rebuffs.

The solitary cornet, on the other hand, who is even more terrible in the quality of his music, is almost invariably an Englishman. So, too, are those players of wind instruments who, on the opening of a new shop in the market streets of South and East London, endeavour from the first-floor window to compel attention to the excellence of the wares offered in the shop below. The yearly earnings of all these men cannot be above 15s to 20s

per week per man. German bandsmen reckon to make 3s per day. In a prosperous week they may make 28s, but not often more.

### *Games Service.*

We are now nearly at the end of our long list of those who cater for the public amusement, and come to those engaged in "Games Service," of which the two most important subdivisions are Billiard markers and Cricketers. Except in clubs the majority of billiard markers are also potmen, and as such have already been mentioned. In large restaurants they practically belong to the same class as waiters. Their earnings depend almost entirely on the tips they receive, and vary enormously with the class of house in which they are employed.

Professional cricketers receive a regular wage of 30s to 40s per week during the season, and in fine weather can double the sum by the tips given by those to whom they bowl at practice-nets. The Marylebone Club offers £4 to players in winning matches of two or three days at Lord's, and £3. 10s if the match is lost. If the match is away from home the "pro" is given £5 or £6 for two or three-day matches (out of which he must pay his expenses), and £2 plus expenses in one-day matches. Umpires are paid £2 per match of two or three days and expenses, whether at Lord's or away, and £1 with expenses for one-day games. At the Oval the rates are much the same, but the Surrey Club allows its employees a retaining wage of 20s, and a few 30s during the winter, while the M.C.C. does not. For big fixtures like the "Gentlemen v. Players," &c., "pros" are given £10, and the umpire £5. The season lasts from the beginning of May until the end of August. In winter cricketers are sometimes retailers of game requisites. Often they return to the trade—boot-making, or whatever it may be—to which they belong, and sometimes keep a

public-house. After a number of years' service, it is usual for the large clubs to initiate a match in which the gate-money and subscriptions are given over to the man benefited. Cricketers, especially first-class men, may be ranked among the lowest paid of all professional men. In power of drawing a paying crowd, a well-known eleven probably more than equals any music hall combination, and yet their remuneration will at best be but one quarter of that given to the artistes. But, after all, a match is happily not a performance.

### *Societies.*

It cannot be said that the persons of whom we have spoken are, either as a whole, or even in part, well organized. The ups and downs of stage life, whether considered from the point of view of the operative or the actor, are unfavourable to combination. For those performers who can claim personal recognition, whatever their grade—whether opera-singer or organ-grinder, actress or ballet-dancer, clown or cricketer—the highest reward is the applause of their public. The reward in money is entirely personal in its character, and this fact is against association on trade union lines. Amongst those who are not so directly the objects of popular attention, there is a growing feeling in favour of united action. Only one society, that of the Theatrical and Music Hall Operatives, is dignified by the name of trade union, but the Orchestral Association with 1100 members, and the Theatrical Choristers' Association with 650 members, have much in common with ordinary trade societies. Though professedly established to take over the duties of agents without expense to members, to give legal aid, and for educational purposes, each of these institutions tries to establish a recognized minimum wage for their members, and so far they have been fairly successful. The Actors'

Association with 1250 members also gives legal aid and acts as agent, and generally attends to the interest of the profession.

There are several benefit societies open to actors or music hall artistes, which as a rule pay superannuation and death money. The best known are the Royal General Theatrical Fund, founded in 1853; the Actors' Benevolent Fund (1882); the Music Hall Benevolent Fund (1888); the Music Hall Provident Sick Fund; the General Theatrical Operatives' Sick and Benevolent Society (1870); and the British and Foreign Musicians' Society (1822). Cricketers have a Cricketers' Fund Friendly Society. All these societies rely on support from outside, by donations and performances given by managers in their behalf, as well as on the subscriptions of regular members. In addition, there are a number of small and exclusive associations of members of the music hall stage, known by such fancy names as the "Water Rats," "Terriers," "J.'s," &c., whose object is stated to be "social intercourse and benevolence amongst themselves," and many of the halls and theatres have sick clubs attached to them.

Besides these societies, a considerable sum is given away privately, for members of the dramatic profession have the reputation of being very open-handed to professional brethren in distress.

# CHAPTER VI.

## LITERATURE AND EDUCATION.

### LITERATURE AND SCIENCE. (Section 84.)

#### Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.						Enumerated by Families.						
Census Divisions, 1891.	Fe- males.	Males.			Total.	Sex .....	{		Birthplace {	Industrial Status ..	Heads of Families, 2630.	
	All Ages.	19	20-54	55-								
(1) Author, jour- nalist, &c...	419	102	2344	340	3211	In London .... 35% 918 Out of London.. 65% 1718	{	Employer ..... 12% 328 Employed ..... 60% 1583 Neither ..... 28% 725				
(2) Science, &c...	140	81	890	175	1286							
TOTAL .....	559	183	3234	521	4497	TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.						
<p>The diagram opposite shows that there are comparatively few youths or quite young men in the section. At thirty, however, the maximum number is reached, and from this point the proportion at each period is in excess of that of the whole occupied population, as is the case in the previous section.</p>						Total.	Heads of Families.	Others occupied.	Unoccupied	Servants.	Total.	
							2630	1987	5436	1610	11,639	
						Average in family ..	1	76	2 06	61	4 43	CLASSIFICATION.
						DISTRIBUTION.						
DISTRIBUTION.						For full details see Appendix A (Part I.).						
E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.	Numbers living in Families.						%	East .. { Inner 192 } 241 Outer 49 }
133	1315	1538	1511	4497	3 or more to a room	280	2 4	North { Inner 625 } 3343 Outer 2718 }				
						2 & under 3	541		4 6	West .. { Inner 302 } 2638 Outer 2336 }		
						1 & under 2	1407	12 1	Central Inner 821 821			
						Less than 1				South- { Inner 41 } 1702 East { Outer 1661 }		
						More than 4 rooms	5451	46 7	South- { Inner 284 } 2924 West { Outer 2640 }			
						4 or more persons to a servant ..				11,639 100		
						Less than 4 to a ser- vant and 4 or more to 2 servts.	1427	12 2	Inner. Outer. Together.			
						All others with 2 or more servants	953	8 2		Crowded .. 19 % 4 % 7 % Not .. 81 % 96 % 93 %		
						Servants .....	1610	13 8	Inner 2265, or 20 % Outer 9404, or 80 %			

## METROPOLITAN JOURNALISM.

London, as the head-quarters of English journalism, has for its centre the locality of Fleet Street. Within a half-mile radius of this thoroughfare are produced the great bulk of the two thousand periodicals which are issued from London printing offices, more than five hundred of them being daily or weekly newspapers and journals.

The journalistic profession cannot be described as entirely of modern origin, newspapers being still in existence which were published in some form or other a couple of centuries ago, but the marvellous growth of the newspaper press, whether in circulation or importance, is essentially an affair of the present day. Whilst the stamp and paper duties were yet in operation, the press, despite some notable exceptions, was too much hampered to enable it to make any great headway, but by the repeal, in 1861, of the last of the "taxes on knowledge" an impetus was given to journalistic enterprise which has not yet spent all its force, and which has been rarely equalled in the annals of our industries. The newspaper press of to-day is certainly a remarkable instance of a free and unfettered growth.

As those with whom we have here to deal, and who appear under the heading of "Literature," are mainly connected with journalism, some idea of the part which they play in the "Life and Labour of the People" may perhaps be best conveyed by a brief sketch of daily routine in the literary and commercial department of a first-class morning newspaper office.\*

\* Thanks are due to Sir John R. Robinson for assistance kindly given in preparing this sketch.

In such an office the business of the day will usually commence in the commercial department between 9 and 10 A.M., the manager arriving at about the latter hour. The first task to be undertaken will be the opening and reading of letters, of which, in addition to those of strictly business character, there is invariably a large assortment covering a wide range of topics and dating from many quarters. More particularly is this the case on Monday mornings, Sunday being not unnaturally the day chosen by unofficial correspondents who desire to invoke the powerful assistance of the press. These communications disposed of, with the aid of telegraph, telephone and shorthand clerk, or consigned to the editorial or other departments (including the waste paper basket), the manager has usually a number of callers to see; and, in a general over-sight of all departments, finds a variety of matters needing attention. It is part of his business to engage all members of the staff, and arrange their salaries and positions, and to assign the daily duties of reporters, correspondents, &c. Foreign and special correspondents receive from him their commissions and act under his instructions, he orders all plant and machinery, signs cheques, and is generally consulted in matters connected with the management of the different departments. Business ceases at about 6 P.M. in the office of the manager, he being, for practical purposes, succeeded by the editor, whose work has then not long begun.

For the policy to be followed by the newspaper, as well as for the general accuracy of its contents, the editor is responsible, and with him rests the ultimate decision as to what shall or shall not appear. To conduct his paper on lines which shall be at once sound and popular, winning the approval of many and, so far as possible, giving offence to none, is no easy task. An editor must be able to express on the spur of the moment views on all public questions, and requires a wide knowledge of men and things, as well as good judgment and great tact.



The editor reaches his office at about four in the afternoon, and is followed by some of his contributors or assistants, with whom he talks over and arranges the subjects of the morrow's leaders, special articles, notes, &c., often reserving to himself some portion of the work and allotting the remainder.

By 7 p.m. the principal sub-editor, foreign-editor, and their half a dozen or so assistants have reached the office. The sub-editor is mainly responsible for the news department, and on him it largely depends whether or no the paper is made interesting and readable. Apart from the demands of the advertisement manager and of the editor in respect to leaders, &c., the "sub." has generally a pretty free hand in the filling up of the columns of the newspaper, and must see that the tit-bits of news—particularly if of an exclusive character—receive due prominence, that the headings are "taking" or sensational, and that nothing important is omitted. Commencing with the mass of telegrams from "our own" or "our special" correspondents, news agencies, &c., which are awaiting attention, he and his staff proceed to decipher, arrange, and get them into proper shape for the compositor, following on or dealing concurrently with law and police reports, city news, and accounts of the morning's meetings. As fast as these are disposed of, fresh batches of "copy" pour in from parliamentary and other reporters, district correspondents, and many sources, and have similarly to be dealt with, the stream continuing to flow, with brief intervals until, at midnight, the editor receives from the master printer his nightly statement of the quantity of "matter" already in type. Not unusually this statement shows that the amount of still available space in the next morning's issue is very limited, if not entirely exhausted, and henceforward only the most important items, and those perhaps in a very condensed form, find their way into print. Sometimes even these measures will not suffice, and then the sub-

editors must overhaul the reports already in proof, cutting out, condensing or rewriting in accordance with the exigencies of space. Clipping, pruning and revising, toning down the adjectives of some, or the too poetic phrases of others, correcting errors of grammar, and steering clear, if it be any way feasible, of the far-reaching and exceedingly stringent libel laws, the sub-editor and his staff continue at work till 2 A.M. or thereabouts, when, having seen the last belated paragraph safely on its way to the composing room, they are free to follow the example of their chief (who has probably preceded them by about half an hour), and, donning hat and coat, wend their way homewards through the quiet of early dawn, leaving to others the final stages of printing and publication.

Of reporters there will be from about six to ten on the ordinary staff of a morning paper, exclusive of a few ladies, who are of special use in reporting court functions and other fashionable gatherings in which the mysteries of women's dress have to be noted and commented on. An expert acquaintance with shorthand is not by any means the only requirement of a general reporter. In order to adapt himself to the changing circumstances of his profession, the successful man must become, at any rate to some degree, a student of mankind, and he has exceptional opportunities of gaining a varied experience of the intricacies of life. To a wide course of reading and a good stock of all-round knowledge, he requires to bring ready powers of description and condensation; and he should have the ability to grasp and convey to his readers in a few sentences the pith and meaning of a prolix or halting speech, without sacrificing anything material and without losing the individual characteristics of the speaker.

In the Press Gallery of the House of Commons there are during the height of the Session about 120 reporters, each paper having a staff varying from sixteen to six or seven, in addition to writers of parliamentary leaders, notes, &c.

Acting under the direction of the chief reporter, they each in turn take a spell at reporting, and in the intervals transcribe their notes into longhand, or, whilst waiting, beguile the time with smoke, chat, light refreshments, games, &c., in the comfortable rooms which are reserved for their use within the precincts of the "House."

*Remuneration, &c.*—On a newspaper such as we have described, editor and manager will be both highly paid, salaries usually ranging from £1000 to £2000, and rising in exceptional cases much higher than this; whilst assistant editors will get from £500 to £1000, sub-editors £400 to £600, and reporters £200 to £500. Members of the parliamentary staff receive from five guineas to eight guineas a week. In some cases these men are employed by the newspaper all the year round, filling up their time on other work when the House is not sitting; in other instances they are engaged for the parliamentary session only, and retain a private literary connection or work as shorthand writers, &c. On morning papers of a secondary class, and on the evening and general weekly papers, the staff is smaller, consisting of an editor and assistant, two or three sub-editors, and a like number of reporters. Rates of remuneration vary considerably, but on the whole are from half to two-thirds of those prevailing on the leading morning journals.

On the best class of local papers there will be an editor (who is perhaps also the proprietor) and two or three reporters (paid at from about 35s to £3 a week), of whom the senior would probably act as sub-editor. For the rest, these local journals are but poor property, the work being done by the man who runs them, with the assistance of a junior, paid about 25s or 30s a week, part of which may be earned by canvassing for advertisements.

The staff engaged on trade papers and on those of the "paste and scissors" order is usually small, but varies so much with the character of the journal that no general state-

ment either as to numbers or remuneration can be given. On the fortnightly, monthly or quarterly magazines and reviews there will be an editor and perhaps a secretary or clerk. Contributors of articles are paid so much per page, from one to two guineas being the usual scale.

There are several agencies which keep a special staff for supplying news to the London and Provincial press, and in addition, there are a considerable number of men who make a somewhat precarious living by acting as scouts to the army of regular journalists, picking up odd items of police or other news, attending fires, inquests, &c., and who are paid at the rate of 1*l* or 1½*l* per printed line by the papers which accept their contributions. The field of these men is closely circumscribed, on the one hand by journalists who are appointed to report the proceedings of the principal Metropolitan police courts in the joint interest of the leading dailies, getting from 10*s* to 15*s* per week from each paper; and on the other hand, by reporters attached to local journals, who act as district correspondents for the locality in which their ordinary work lies, and whose "copy," although paid in the same way, will be accepted by the daily papers in preference to that of the less responsible free lance.

Amongst shorthand writers who have an established connection as law reporters, or as reporters to public companies, learned societies and similar bodies, it is not an uncommon custom to employ juniors to do the work, and give them half the fee received. It is also a frequent practice for busy reporters to read over their shorthand notes to other men, who afterwards transcribe them into long-hand, at 1*l* or 2*d* a folio. Many of these are young men, who thus obtain practice and experience, but others are the elderly failures of journalism or shorthand writing, and, with a section of the "liners," together comprise the 7 per cent. of crowded shown in our introductory table.

Hours of work for journalists are rather long as

compared to other professions, but are not by any means uniform, depending on the nature of the duties to be performed. Holidays with full pay are generally allowed to all members of the regular staff, varying from six weeks to three weeks on the daily press, and from a week to two or three days, taken at slack intervals, on local newspapers.

In this, as in almost every other avocation, London is a good finishing school, but a bad training ground, and the great majority of successful journalists have received their professional training in the provinces.

*Societies.*—The Institute of Journalists, which was incorporated by Royal Charter in 1890, is the most representative organization connected with the journalistic profession, having 3700 members, of whom about eight hundred are in London, 2700 in other parts of the kingdom, and 150 in the colonies and elsewhere abroad. It is a decentralized society, its members being grouped in districts and sub-districts, each under the charge of a committee and officers. In the “grey book” issued by the institute its objects are set forth at considerable length, but they may be briefly summarized as the promotion and maintenance in every way of the interests of the journalistic body, combined with a due recognition of its responsibilities. In some respects the purposes of the institute correspond closely to those of an ordinary trade union. One of its duties is to mediate in cases of dispute affecting its members, another actively to interfere in any legislative proposals which concern journalists, and a third to “carry out measures which shall lead to the enhancement of the general standard of remuneration for the professional services of journalists,” though it is added that this is to be accomplished “especially by means of a previous enhancement of the standard of professional qualification.”

The membership is of five classes: viz. (a) *Members*, who must be twenty-one years of age and have been actively

engaged as professional journalists for at least three years; (b) *Fellows*, promoted from the ranks of the members on account of special experience or distinction in the profession. (c) *Associates*, comprising persons who are not eligible to be members or fellows, but are, by reason of their relations with journalism, able to co-operate in advancing the general interests of those connected with it. (d) *Pupil-associates*, who must be over sixteen years of age, and are being trained for the profession; and (e) *Honorary members*, who are chosen because they have rendered useful service to the institute. The annual subscription is: for members and associates 10s 6d; fellows £2. 2s; and pupil associates 5s. In 1893 the annual conference of the institute, in pursuance doubtless of the object already mentioned of raising the standard of professional journalism, passed a standing order to the effect that candidates for admission, either as pupil associates or members, must pass an examination in English history, literature, arithmetic, geography, and one or two modern languages, as well as in the more technical qualifications for journalistic work. This rule has not yet come into active operation, but assuming it to be successfully carried out, it must have an important effect on the future of the profession, as it is doubtful whether any large proportion of journalists of the minor order could at the present day stand any such test as is here prescribed. Other useful and novel departments are an employment register for members, and a code of professional usage relating to news correspondence, any breach of which by a member may be reported to the district committee and dealt with by that body. The Orphan fund of the institute, which was established in 1891, gives grants of money (usually £15 or £20 per annum) to necessitous children of deceased members.

Another organization widely known in connection with journalism is the Newspaper Press Fund, established to

afford relief in distress to all contributors to the Press of the United Kingdom. Its constitution is partly of a provident and partly of a charitable nature, the subscriptions of members being largely supplemented by voluntary donations. The fund has invested stock to the value of £25,000 and has lately received a charter of incorporation.

A noticeable feature of modern journalism is the number of women who have entered the profession, and this led to the successful establishment in 1894 of the Society of Women Journalists, which has now about 200 members. All members must be professionally engaged in journalism, either as writers or artists, and the annual subscription of £1. 1s entitles to the use of an employment register, to legal assistance, and to medical or general advice, as well as to certain social advantages.

Literature, as distinguished from orthodox journalism, is represented in its collective capacity by the incorporated Society of Authors, which was founded in 1883 and has, in the face of much adverse criticism and discouragement, rendered considerable service to a struggling class of literary men. Its objects are (1) the maintenance, definition, and defence of literary property; (2) the consolidation and amendment of the laws of domestic copyright; and (3) the promotion of international copyright. Under the first heading it assists authors (who are generally poor men of business) by examining and advising on agreements submitted by publishers; by looking into printers' estimates, charges, &c.; and by taking action (legal or otherwise, as may be necessary) for the recovery of MSS. or of payments due for literary work. The subscription is £1. 1s per annum, and membership is confined to persons who have published a book, but others with literary aspirations may become "associates" on payment of a similar fee. The society has about 1300 members and publishes a monthly journal.

Amongst other organizations allied to this section are the Royal Literary Fund, an old-established purely benevolent institution of very high standing; the Newspaper Society, which is devoted to the interests of newspaper proprietors; and the Press Club. The last-named is essentially a resort of the rank and file of working journalists, and has 300 or 400 members.



## EDUCATION. (Section 85.)

*Persons Represented.*

Census Enumeration.						Enumerated by Families.						
Census Divisions, 1891.	Females.	Males.				Total.	Sex .....	Males .....		Females .....		Hheads of Families, 6540.
	All Ages.	—19	20—54	55—	4342			2198				
(1) Teacher, etc...	19,794	712	5450	555	26,521	Birthplace {	In London ....	35 %	2291	}		
(2) School Service	245	30	638	127	1040	{	Out of London..	65 %	4240			
TOTAL....						Industrial Status ..	Employer .....	9 %	615			
							Employed .....	73 %	4775			
							Neither .....	18 %	1150			
TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.												
The apparent deficiency in the proportion between fifteen and twenty-five years of age is caused by the omission of students in training colleges for schoolmasters, who, being returned in the census with various other classes of students, could not be included here. The noticeable feature of the chart is the sudden fall in numbers between the ages of thirty and forty.						Total ....	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied	Servants.	Total.	
						Average in family..	1	1'07	1'71	'40	4'18	
DISTRIBUTION.						CLASSIFICATION.						
E. N. W. & C. S. Total.						For full details see Appendix A (Part I).						
2146	7963	6186	10,976	27,561	Numbers living in Families. %							
DETAILS OF OCCUPATIONS (FROM THE CENSUS DICTIONARY).					3 or more to a room	534	2'0	East .. { Inner 1529 } 2165				
					2 & under 3	805	3'3	{ Outer 636 }				
					1 & under 2	3532	12'9	North { Inner 808 } 7181				
					Less than 1			{ Outer 6676 }				
					More than 4 rooms	15,539	56'0	West .. { Inner 433 } 5463				
					4 or more persons			{ Outer 3030 }				
					to a servant ..			Central Inner 737 737				
					Less than 4 to 1 ser-			South- { Inner 308 } 6189				
					vant, and 4 or			East { Outer 5791 }				
					more to 2 servts.	2687	9'8	South- { Inner 608 } 5209				
All others with 2 or			West { Outer 4601 }									
more servants ..	1502	5'5										
Servants .....	2648	9'6										
					27,337	100						
					Inner.	Outer.	Together					
					Crowded..	17 %	3 %	5 %	Inner	4513, or 16 %		
					Not ..	83 %	97 %	95 %	Outer	22,824, or 84 %		

## TEACHERS IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

The members of the teaching profession are divided into two main groups—(a) those engaged in elementary or primary schools; (b) those connected with secondary education, with whom are classed all teachers in private schools. The elaborate course of preparation required by the Elementary Education Acts has precluded secondary teachers from taking positions in primary schools; and although, on the other side, elementary teachers of capacity, feeling themselves fettered by the legal code, have been known to break away and start private schools of their own, such cases are comparatively rare. The two groups therefore are largely distinct, methods of training, qualifications, conditions of employment, and, to a great extent, social status, having, up to the present time, tended to keep them apart.

Turning first to primary education, we find that there are in London something like 16,000 persons qualified to teach in elementary schools, in addition to over 3000 pupil-teachers, and that they have under their charge about 700,000 children, divided sectionally and denominationally as follows :—

	No. of Schools.	Accommodation.	Average Attendance.
London School Board .....	433	483,008	400,912
National or Church of England...	290	155,333	112,295
Roman Catholic .....	93	41,521	22,500
British .....	12	5465	2590
Wesleyan .....	16	9070	5458
Parochial .....	22	10,809	7060
Others.....	72	37,404	25,036
Total.....	975	742,610	575,851

The figures for board schools are taken from the London Board's return for the year ending Lady Day, 1895. Those for voluntary schools have been compiled from the last

published report of the Committee of Council on Education. The number of children on the roll is, as a whole, only slightly below the accommodation provided. There are, in addition to those included in the above table, seventy-six voluntary schools for which no return of accommodation or average attendance is given in the Government report. Of these, forty-seven are National or Church of England, seventeen British, and two Wesleyan.

More than 10,000 of the teachers are in the service of the London School Board, of whom 1200 are head teachers, 7000 assistants (including 1000 on probation), 400 unclassified, and nearly 1600 pupil teachers.

The other 9000 teachers are in the service of voluntary schools, and are no doubt divided roughly amongst the denominational groups in proportion to the number of children in attendance. The proportion of head teachers to assistants is, however, much greater than in Board schools, owing to the fact that the latter are usually much larger than the voluntary schools.

*Training.*—Young people who desire to become elementary teachers have to undergo a long and arduous course of preparation. The preliminary requisites are good health and moral character and satisfactory proof of having passed Standards V. or VI. of the Elementary Code. Candidates may be required to serve a short period of probation, and then, if accepted, commence a four years' apprenticeship as pupil teachers. At the end of this period they enter for the Queen's Scholarship examination, and if they pass sufficiently high in the list, they are eligible to go to a training college. Of these colleges in the London district eleven are residential, classified as follows:—

	Masters.		Mistresses.
Church of England .....	2	...	3
Wesleyan... ..	1	...	1
Roman Catholic .....	1	...	1
Undenominational .....	1	...	1
	<hr/> 5		<hr/> 6

There are also two day colleges, both counted as undenominational. These colleges are all in private hands, being managed either by societies connected with the different denominations or by unsectarian educational bodies. A Government grant is paid averaging about £100 for men and £75 for women, in addition to which an entrance fee ranging from ten to twenty-five guineas is charged. In return, the students are provided with tuition, board and lodging, &c., but usually have to find their own books and personal expenses. After two years at college (occasionally extended to three years in cases of special merit), the young teacher passes the certificate examination in either first, second, or third class, and then serves a probationary period of eighteen months in one and the same elementary school. Following this, if the inspectors report be favourable, the probationer obtains a parchment certificate; and finally, at the end of about eight years of preparation, emerges as a fully qualified teacher.

Complaints are made of the inadequate number of undenominational colleges, as a consequence of which many students have either to submit to sectarian tests which are distasteful to them, or else to dispense with a collegiate training. From this cause, and because of the insufficient supply of colleges, whether denominational or undenominational, or because they do not pass sufficiently high at the qualifying examination or cannot afford the necessary expense and loss of earnings, a large number of students are unable to go to college.\* In 1894, 11,038 candidates passed the Queen's Scholarship examination successfully, but only 3469 entered residential training colleges, and 885 day colleges. Of the remainder the great majority continued to act as assistants, earning a few shillings per week, and studying for the certificate examination in their leisure time. More than half those

\* A Pupil Teachers' Scholarship Committee has lately been formed for the purpose of assisting pupil teachers to obtain a collegiate training.

who passed this examination in 1894 had not had the advantage of a collegiate training. These "untrained" teachers, as they are termed, are allowed to try three times for the coveted "parchment" and may defer taking the certificate for four or even six years, remaining meanwhile assistants at small salaries.

To the full course of training which is generally required an exception is made in the case of University graduates or persons over eighteen who have passed certain minor University local examinations. Should these, in addition to their other qualifications, hold a diploma in the art and science of teaching, recognized by the Education Department, they may become certificated teachers at once. Otherwise, they may become assistants without having acted as pupil teachers, and, after twelve months' service in a public elementary school, receive provisional certificates, but they must pass the usual certificate examination before being considered as properly qualified.

In order to become head teachers, candidates must, in the case of the London School Board and of some of the voluntary schools, have received a collegiate training, and almost invariably, in the case of London schools, they must have passed in either the first or second divisions. Third division teachers are allowed by law to take charge of small schools in which there are no pupil teachers, but these are found almost entirely in the rural districts. Nearly every certificated teacher in the employ of the London School Board has passed in one of the first two divisions, and teachers are not considered fully equipped until they have done so.

Under the London School Board pupil teachers have exceptional facilities for acquiring a thorough knowledge of their profession. One-half of their time is devoted to the practical work of teaching in the schools; the other half they occupy in being taught at the twelve centres specially provided by the Board for this purpose. At each of these schools there

is a staff of superior teachers, including several who have taken University degrees. On Saturdays the whole of the pupil teachers go to these centres, and the regular staff employed there is augmented by teachers selected from the ordinary schools, who receive extra remuneration for this work.

Pupil teachers in voluntary schools are not so well provided for. They must, as a rule, assist in teaching during all the school hours, and thus have only their leisure time for study. As some aid, however, to pupil teachers in Church of England schools, the managing authorities are introducing a system of Saturday and evening centres to which they can go to be trained, and the "National Society"\* assists by issuing systematic courses of instruction for pupil teachers, mapped out into weekly portions, and, for a small fee, examines and corrects papers sent in to them. The London School Board also, providing there is room, allows pupil teachers from voluntary schools to attend their centres on payment of a nominal charge. Pupil teachers, apart from their special centres of instruction, are usually taught by the head master, but any teacher who holds a certificate in the first or second division is competent to instruct them.

The superiority of the London School Board system of training is remarkably shown in the proportion of those who pass in each class the Queen's Scholarship exam. The figures given are those for 1894 :—

London School Board.				Rest of Country.	
Men	{	1st Class	60 per cent.	17 per cent.	
		2nd „	36 „	63 „	
		3rd „	4 „	20 „	
			100 per cent.	100 per cent.	
Women	{	1st Class	67 per cent.	38 per cent.	
		2nd „	29 „	35 „	
		3rd „	4 „	27 „	
			100 per cent.	100 per cent.	

\* The full title of this organization is the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church.

It should, perhaps, in fairness be said that the numbers entering from the rest of the country are of course very much greater than those from the London Board, and that, were we able to make the comparison between London Board schools and other schools in the Metropolis or those of the large provincial towns, the contrast would probably be much less striking. It would, however, we believe, still be sufficiently pronounced.

The qualifying certificate once gained, teachers have not much trouble in obtaining a situation. Probably in no other calling is demand and supply so nicely balanced, but, if anything, the supply is deficient, with the consequent allegation that the voluntary schools, where the salaries offered are the least tempting, find some difficulty in obtaining competent teachers. Trained teachers (*i.e.* those who have been to college) have on the whole the easier path and obtain the best appointments, the transfer from college to an assistant teacher's berth being, by general understanding, a direct one. Five-sixths of the certificated teachers employed by the London School Board have received a collegiate training. The requirements of the Education Code in regard to the staffing of a school have been made more stringent of late years, and as now set forth in Article 73 are as follows:—

Principal certificated teacher .....	sufficient for 60 children				
Each additional certificated trained teacher ...	„ „ 70	„			
„ „ „ untrained teacher	„ „ 60	„			
„ Assistant teacher .....	„ „ 50	„			
„ Teacher under Article 68 or pupil teacher	„ „ 30	„			
„ Probationary pupil teacher .....	„ „ 20	„			

} In average  
attendance.

Prior to 1890 a certificated assistant, whether trained or untrained, was considered sufficient for eighty children, and a pupil teacher for forty. After March, 1897, the number of children allowable to each assistant will be further limited. School Boards in general, however, and

the London Board in particular, go far beyond the minimum requirements of the law in this respect, and, by insisting on a fully adequate supply of certificated teachers for their schools, have set a standard to which the voluntary schools, under their old liberal allowance of pupil teachers, have found it impossible to attain. They have therefore dispensed with some of their pupil teachers in favour of certificated assistants, and so there has come an increasing demand side by side with a curtailed source of supply. On the other hand, some concession has been made in regard to the employment of "Article 68's," as they are termed. Under this clause of the code, women over eighteen years of age, if approved by the Education Department or the authorized inspector, may be engaged as additional teachers, and by a recent modification these women may, after two years' service, pass (if able) the Queen's Scholarship examination in the first class, and be thereupon recognized as "provisionally certificated teachers." In this way, it is hoped, an opening may be found for some of the many women of good education who now overcrowd the ranks of private governesses, whilst at the same time the new provision may, with the extended employment of University graduates, &c., serve to make good any deficiency arising from a lack of pupil teachers.

The "waste" of teachers, as it is technically termed, is estimated by the Education Department at 6 per cent., but it naturally varies as between the sexes; and is, according to a high educational authority, about 4 per cent. for males and 7 per cent. for females, the influence of marriage on employment for men and women respectively being the cause of the difference. It has accordingly been amongst females that the deficiency in the supply of certificated teachers has been most noticeable.

*Duties and Remuneration.*—The schools are open for instruction usually on five days in the week between the



hours of 9 A.M. and 12.30 P.M., and 2 P.M. and 4.30 P.M., but these times may be extended by a quarter or half an hour for the treatment of backward or refractory children. The hours of a teacher's duty coincide, of course, with those of the school, but head masters and mistresses in voluntary schools have the additional work of coaching their pupil teachers out of (as well as during) school hours. Assistants have each the charge of a class, whilst the head teachers have the care of the whole school, and in the smaller schools sometimes take a class also.\* There are generally six or seven weeks' holiday in the year, viz. a fortnight at Christmas, one week at Easter, and three or four weeks from about the middle of July.

Pupil teachers in London Board Schools, after serving the probationary period, commence at a salary of 5*s* a week for boys and 3*s* for girls, rising in the third and fourth year to 12*s* and 14*s* for boys, and to 8*s* for girls. A gratuity of £4 is given to each pupil teacher who sits for the Queen's Scholarship examination in the last year of the engagement, and a further sum of £2 to those who pass in the first class, and £1 to those successful in the second class. Salaries varying from £60 to £85 for men, and £50 to £75 for females, are paid to the small number of uncertificated assistants employed by the Board and to those in certain stages of probation, but this period over, the regular engagement starts at £95 for men and £85 for women, rising after two years' service to £105 and £90 respectively. From this point the men's salaries increase by annual increments of £5 to a maximum of £155, which is further augmented to £165 on their becoming head assistant teachers. Women rise by £3 a year to £125, or to £135 as head assistants. The remuneration of head teachers varies

\* The duties and responsibilities attaching to the position of an elementary teacher have been so well described by Miss Tabor in an earlier volume that it is unnecessary to recapitulate them here (See Poverty Series, Vol. III. Part II., Chap. 2).

according to department and number of scholars, as follows:—

	Masters of Boys or Mixed Departments.	Mistresses of Girls or Mixed Departments.	Mistresses of Infants' Departments.
	£    £	£    £	£    £
(1) Head teachers of permanent schools with accommodation for 180 or under	150 to 200	120 to 150	120 to 130
(2) Ditto, 181 to 280 inclusive .....	200 to 250	150 to 185	130 to 150
(3) Ditto, 281 to 380    „    .....	250 to 300	185 to 225	150 to 180
(4) Ditto, 381 to 500    „    .....	300 to 350	225 to 260	180 to 210
(5) Ditto, over 500.....	350 to 400	260 to 300	210 to 240

The yearly increase in each grade is £5 for men and £4 for women. A few masters at present get the maximum amount of £400, but the Board has resolved that in the case of future appointments no salary shall exceed £350.

The subjoined table shows the salaries paid to teachers in the employ of the Board during the year ending Lady Day, 1895:—

*Number of Teachers, with Salaries, employed by the London School Board.*

MALES.		FEMALES.	
No Salary.....	7	No Salary.....	66
£75 and under .....	61	£50 and under.....	344
£85 .....	47	£65 .....	50
£95 .....	263	£75 .....	84
£105 .....	284	£85 .....	769
£115 .....	150	£90 .....	796
£120 .....	134	£100 .....	360
£125 .....	120	£103 .....	284
£130 .....	119	£106 .....	300
£135 .....	141	£109 .....	297
£140 .....	160	£112 .....	311
£145 .....	197	£115 .....	237
£150 .....	152	£118 .....	249
£155 .....	537	£121 .....	197
£165 .....	102	£125 .....	549
£200 to £250 .....	89	£130 to £150 .....	155
£251 to £300 .....	149	£151 to £200 .....	240
£301 to £350 .....	132	£201 to £250 .....	386
Over £350 .....	39	Over £250 .....	123
Total .....	2883	Total .....	5797

So far as we have been able to gather, no such systematic scale of salaries as that obtaining in Board schools prevails under the voluntary system, where the amount of remuneration depends more on the educational success and the financial status of the individual school. Nor have we been able to obtain any detailed statement of salaries paid in these schools. We know, however, that the general rate of remuneration is much lower than in Board schools, a common estimate giving the difference as 40 per cent. For the year ending August, 1894, the salaries under the London School Board averaged £2. 11s 11½d per scholar, whilst in the voluntary schools of the Metropolis the average was £1. 12s 1¾d, or 60 per cent. less. Probably, however, the difference in the pay of certificated teachers in the two classes of schools is not quite so great as this, the proportion of uncertificated assistants and pupil teachers at small salaries being rather larger than in Board schools, and so tending to reduce the general average in voluntary schools. The difference is principally noticeable in the much higher maximum salaries paid in Board schools, and this is partly the natural result of increased responsibility entailed on the head teachers by the much greater size of the schools. Voluntary schools, being, as already said, much smaller, require a proportionately increased number of head teachers, and consequently the range in rates of remuneration is considerably less, whilst more speedy chances of promotion are afforded to the assistants.

*Superannuation.*—To obtain some definite and adequate provision for old age through the medium of the State has long been the principal aim of elementary teachers in their collective capacity. For years past their representative organizations have striven to attain this object, but so far with no very great success. Schemes have been propounded with the brightest prospects of realization, and have even been put into practical operation, only to be abandoned afterwards or so limited in scope as to be of

little use; authoritative promises have been made, only to share the proverbial fate, until "hope deferred" must have made "the heart sick." Still, the combined bodies of teachers continue to agitate with a persistency which must surely reap the reward which importunity is said to ensure. So long ago as 1847 the Education Department resolved to give retiring allowances to elementary teachers to the extent of one-third of their salaries, and commenced to do so, but a few years later (1862) cancelled the order. Agitation followed for a considerable time, and then Parliament, holding that a breach of faith had been committed, stepped in and decided that the pension should be restored to all teachers appointed prior to 1862. The amount allotted for this purpose is about £12,000 per annum. The maximum number of pensions receivable is 36 at £30, 197 at £25, and 283 at £20 per annum. Although this scheme excludes every teacher appointed since 1862, the money allotted is still insufficient to provide for those entitled to share it. Promises of a measure have now been received from two Governments.

Several years ago the London School Board adopted a scheme of superannuation on a fairly liberal scale, pensions varying from one-sixth to two-thirds of salary being payable to its teachers and staff in proportion to length of service. Two per cent. was to be deducted from each person's salary, and any deficit left to be provided by the Board. A subsequent Board, however, discovered that it had no power to assist the fund, and that the scheme was unsound. So, instead, the prescribed scale of benefits was suspended, and it was decided that the Board should continue to deduct the 2 per cent., should provide for the safe keeping of the fund, and manage it by a joint committee of members, teachers, and officials, but should make no contribution to the benefits nor ensure the solvency of the fund. Since that time pensions have been awarded only on the report of an actuary as to the amount of superannuation which the fund

could safely pay, and there is complaint as to the inadequacy of the awards, although it is stated, on the other hand, that the amount paid is really greater in proportion than the sum which the recipient has paid in. Later again (1895) the Board reversed its attitude, and resolved to add to the demands which it had for a long time been vainly making on Parliament for a legal status for the fund, a request for powers both to assist and guarantee the fund. But no such authority (May, 1896) has yet been given, nor seems likely to be given in the immediate future, so in this unsettled position, whether for London Board teachers, or for those throughout the country generally, the matter at present remains.

#### TEACHERS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

The term "secondary school" is a very wide one, embracing within its official interpretation, scholastic establishments of many sorts, sizes and conditions. First come the large public endowed schools, well staffed and equipped in every particular; then the proprietary schools, managed by societies or companies on a combined business and philanthropic basis; next the preparatory schools, in which boys are trained for the public schools, and of which there are some excellent examples in West London. Then come the great class of private schools, in which an education of a more or less commercial character is given, and which vary greatly according to the style of the locality in which they are situated and the age to which they retain their pupils; and finally there are the dames' schools, patronized by clerks, small tradesmen and others who are too "genteel" to let their children attend an ordinary elementary school and too poor to send them to a good private school. All these schools are assumed to be divided from the elementary, Government-inspected class by the fact that the fee charged is 9d or more per week, but probably in the poor little schools held in a downstairs parlour or

second floor front, and presided over by a struggling widow or faded maiden lady, the "9d rule" is not at all strictly observed, and here doubtless is the weakest spot in our present educational system. Varied as are the schools, those described as secondary teachers are certainly not less so. At the top are those who have taken a high University degree, and from these the scale descends in a fine gradation to the boy and girl of sixteen at the bottom, with very slender qualifications, who are just commencing their career.

The training of secondary teachers is, on the whole, conducted in a somewhat unmethodical, haphazard fashion, and the necessity for some improved system is pointed out in the report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education (1894), from which, with the accompanying minutes of evidence, we have obtained a considerable part of what immediately follows. Speaking before the Commission, a witness of high authority as an inspector of schools and training colleges, remarks that training "prevents the best teachers from making mistakes and improves the capability of inferior teachers. A knowledge of various systems enables a teacher to try experiments and prevents his becoming mechanical. Trained teachers maintain better discipline with fewer punishments, and acquire a greater power of managing large classes." Cambridge University has done something to supply the need by establishing a Teachers' Training Syndicate, in connection with which examinations are held at various centres in the theory, history and practice of teaching, and certificates are awarded. The College of Preceptors also has for some years held courses of lectures and examinations on the same subject, and has lately opened the first college in London for the training of male secondary teachers, the students in which will have the opportunity of practising in secondary schools of high repute and of different types in London.

Teachers in endowed schools for boys have usually had a University training and experience. An inquiry instituted by the Society of Assistant Masters showed that of 596 head masters of public secondary schools in England and Wales, 503 were University graduates and 17 undergraduates; whilst of 2958 assistants in schools of the same class, 1858 (or 63 per cent.) were graduates, and 388 (or 13 per cent.) undergraduates. Many of the principals of private schools of the commercial class are also University men or have passed the local or College of Preceptors' examinations; others have been elementary teachers, but some again have qualifications of rather doubtful value. The assistants in private schools of good repute are usually sons of clergymen, schoolmasters and other professional men. They have generally passed some of the minor or intermediate examinations, and are reading up for a degree, private schools serving as practical training grounds from which they are able to pass, on obtaining their degree, to positions in higher grade private or public schools, or perhaps they may themselves become principals. Private schools are said to be superior to public ones for purposes of training, because, being smaller, the assistants are brought more immediately under the supervision of the head master.

For female secondary teachers there are a few training colleges, in which students usually have a year's course of instruction, and then go to a practising school, either belonging to or connected with the college. But the accommodation provided by these establishments is quite small compared to the total number of women secondary teachers, whilst the fee charged (about £25 to £35 a year non-residential), though no higher than is absolutely necessary in order to make the establishments self-supporting, is yet, probably, beyond the means of many. Consequently the great bulk of these teachers do not go to college, but are provided for, more or less satisfactorily, in other ways. In some schools

they are employed as student-teachers (or apprentices), and are prepared to pass a qualifying examination ; in other cases they receive a training which is assumed to fit them for the position of family governess, or of teacher in such private schools as do not require that those they engage shall have attained to any public standard of knowledge or proficiency.

The hours and duties of assistants in secondary day-schools differ little from those in elementary schools, but where boarders are taken, as is sometimes the case in boys' schools, and more usually so in those for girls, there is the duty to be undertaken of looking after their young charges out of school hours. In fairly large schools this "discipline duty" is not very heavy, as the teachers take weekly turns, and are therefore only required about once in every four weeks. The school year is divided into three terms, and the intervening holidays amount in all to about three months annually, being six weeks in the summer, four at Christmas, and two at Easter.

With so great a variety of schools, it is not surprising to find a wide range in the amount of salaries obtainable. In London, the highest salaries are paid in endowed schools, where the stipends of head masters vary from about £2000 to £500 a year, and those of assistants from £600 or £700 to £100, the average for the latter being about £250 for schools of the highest class, and £150 for those of the second grade. The proportion of assistants to head masters in endowed schools is five to one. In good private schools assistant masters usually start at from £30 to £40, with board and residence, which may increase to £50 or £60 after a time ; but in inferior schools the remuneration is sometimes little beyond board and lodging.

In regard to the salaries of women teachers, a return relating to endowed or proprietary schools for girls shows a variation from about £60 to £225 per annum for assistant mistresses.



The Girls' Public Day School Company, which in 1894 had thirty-six schools with over seven thousand pupils (seventeen schools with over four thousand pupils being in London), divides its teachers, by private arrangement, into three classes, in addition to juniors, probationers, &c., and pays them on the following scale:—

Third-class teachers commence at	£70	and rise to	£95.
Second-class	„	„	£95 „ £135.
First-class	„	„	£135 „ £200.

There were at the date of this return thirty-five teachers in the first-class, 183 in the second, and 101 in the third. Promotion from one class to the other occasionally takes place, but is not usual, the educational qualifications and teaching ability being different. Head mistresses employed by this company get £250 a year fixed stipend, and a capitation grant of £1. 10s to £2 per head for each scholar beyond the first hundred. The maximum salary is about £700. All the teachers are non-residential.

The salaries quoted above are for the better classes of secondary schools, and rule lower in inferior schools, where amounts between £35 and £50, without extras, are said to be not uncommon for women teachers.

On the general question of salaries in secondary schools the Royal Commissioners say:—

“With regard to salaries paid to assistant teachers, it seems clear that, at least in some cases, they are too low, and that a higher scale of remuneration would tend to improve the quality of the education given. In the cheaper schools, where the expenditure per pupil is necessarily very small, it is impossible to provide adequate salaries for a sufficient number of well-educated teachers. The teaching staff in such a case must be either defective in quality or else too small for the work of the school. Even in schools where the average salary rises to £110 or £120, it is manifest that if the juniors be adequately paid the

seniors can have no prospect of an increase in their salaries, and the school must suffer by the discouragement of experienced teachers. Saving, for illness or old age, must be impossible in many cases, and an economic position which involves privations and anxieties, cannot be favourable to the vigour and influence of the teaching staff."

In order to ensure more adequate salaries in future the Commissioners recommend, in establishing any schools, that "out of the general income of the school there should be set apart for salaries of assistants a definite sum in respect of every scholar on the books."

Salaries are payable by the term, and engagements subject to a month's notice on either side, are usually arranged to end with the term. A grievance of assistant masters is that in many endowed schools head masters have the absolute power of dismissing assistants, and on this point the Commissioners recommend that there shall in every case be a right of appeal to the governors of the school.

#### REGISTRATION OF TEACHERS.

Nearly all classes of teachers are in favour of some system of registration of schools and teachers, with a view of checking incompetence and improving the status of the profession, but opinions differ greatly as to the classes to be included and the methods to be adopted. Secondary teachers object to the registration of elementary teachers on the ground that they are for all practical purposes already registered by the Education Department, and thus have a monopoly of the elementary schools, whilst by being on the proposed list they would also obtain a footing in secondary schools without any compensatory advantage to the secondary teacher. They also allege that elementary teachers, being more numerous and better organized, would outvote them, and so obtain

control of the Educational Council by whom it is proposed that the register shall be kept and the terms and conditions of entry thereon decided. The elementary teachers, on the other hand, claim their right as duly qualified and trained teachers, to be entered on any register representing the profession, and deny there is any real ground for the fears entertained by the other side. As to the means to be adopted in making up the register, some would make the employment of unregistered teachers illegal, others would deprive the keeper of an unregistered school of the legal power to recover fees, and would prohibit the opening of new schools without registration, whilst others again would rather rely on the indirect effect of the establishment of the register itself, believing that the advantage which would accrue to those who appeared on the official list as duly certified and competent members of their profession, would eventually result in weeding out the incompetent and in bringing the unwilling up to the required standard.

There are also opposing views as to whether the standard of qualification should be a high, low, or medium one, but all agree that the fee to be paid on registration should not be heavy. The Royal Commissioners have attempted to meet these divergent views by suggesting separate lists for the different classes of teachers, and have propounded the subjoined scheme of qualification :—

*For future Teachers.*—The qualification to be :—

(1) A degree, or a certificate of attainment, granted by a University or body recognized for that purpose by the registration authority ; and

(2) A certificate or diploma of adequate knowledge of the theory and practice of education, granted by a University or body recognized as above.

*For existing Teachers.*—Persons who have been teaching in secondary schools for three years prior to passing of Act “to produce to Educational Council satisfactory evidence of intellectual acquirements and competence to teach.”

The Commissioners think this rule "would exclude very few existing teachers possessed of reasonable qualifications and of long experience."

After the lapse of seven years no unregistered teacher to be employed in a public secondary school, save young persons serving a limited period of probation.

With regard to the registration of schools the Commissioners recommend the establishment of a local authority which shall, amongst its other duties, keep a list of efficient secondary (including private) schools. This authority is to appoint inspectors with power to visit private schools and report as to the efficiency of the staff, equipment, and teaching; and admission to the register will depend on the inspectors' report. No private school is to be bound to submit to such inspection, but will not be placed on the list unless it does so.

#### SOCIETIES.

There is quite a large number of societies connected with this section. Every class of teachers has its representative organization, and each of the more important religious bodies has its society or committee which takes charge of the training colleges belonging to the denomination, and generally safeguards its interests in educational matters. There are also organizations of a purely educational character, and societies whose objects are entirely benevolent.

Amongst the teachers' associations, the National Union of Teachers undoubtedly holds the premier position. Founded in 1870, it has now 33,500 members, of whom seven thousand are in London. It is a central union of between four hundred and five hundred local associations, which are in turn in many instances grouped into district unions. Each association pays an annual fee of 7s per member to the central union, 2s of which goes to legal, and 2s to Parliamentary purposes, and in cases where there is

no local association teachers may join the union direct for an annual subscription of 10s 6d. Persons who join within six months of their becoming qualified as teachers pay no entrance fee; others pay 5s.

The stated objects of the union include the protection generally of the interests of teachers, the improvement of education by raising the qualifications and status of teachers, direct representation in Parliament, and a government scheme of superannuation for certificated teachers. Legal assistance and general professional advice are given to members, and support afforded to any who suffer in defence of professional rights or position. There is also a benevolent fund, from which an annuity of £25 or £30 is granted to some fifty aged or incapacitated members, and there are two orphanages, one at Peckham Rye for boys and another at Sheffield for girls, each having accommodation for about fifty children.

In addition to this, over a hundred orphans (children of deceased members) receive allowances of 5s a week at home.

The union is essentially a fighting organization, and endeavours to further its propaganda by representation on all public authorities or local bodies. It has members both in Parliament and on the London School Board, and controls an important weekly journal which is recognized as its official organ. With its extensive ramifications the union undoubtedly exercises great influence on the profession.

The Metropolitan Board Teachers' Association, founded in 1872, with a subscription of 3s 6d per annum, is strictly confined to certificated teachers in the service of the London School Board. It has about 6100 members, of whom 1100 are head teachers and 5000 assistants, and thus includes about three-fourths of the total number of teachers employed by the Board. Most of the members belong also to the National Union, but the two bodies are quite distinct. The specific objects of the association are to ascertain,

represent and support the opinion of teachers under the School Board for London upon all matters affecting their work and interests, and to promote social intercourse. An official monthly journal is published, and sent free to members.

The Teachers' Guild of Great Britain and Ireland, incorporated in 1885, is established :—" (1) to form a body which shall be thoroughly representative of all grades of teachers, and be able to speak with knowledge and authority on all matters of education ; (2) to obtain for the whole body of teachers the status and authority of a learned profession ; (3) to enable teachers by union and co-operation to make a better provision for sickness and old age, and by the same means, to do all such other lawful things as may conduce to their own welfare and the benefit of the public."

The association comprises a Central Guild in London, with 1760 members, and has branches in several provincial towns. Each class of teachers is represented in the membership, 15 per cent. being in primary schools, 28 per cent. in public secondary schools, and 26 per cent. in private schools, whilst 24 per cent. are visiting or resident private teachers, and 7 per cent. do not directly belong to the profession, but are interested in educational matters. The Guild keeps a registry of women teachers, has an educational museum, gives legal and professional advice, and arranges various matters of business or pleasure for its members, such as stock exchange investments or holiday trips. Beyond acting as a sort of agency to certain insurance offices, whereby members can obtain more favourable terms, the Guild has not yet done much in the direction of a sickness and old age benefit. The subscription is 7s 6d per annum to London members, and 6s 6d to those in country districts.

Head masters in public secondary schools are represented by the Incorporated Association of Head Masters (1890),

which has 350 members in England and Wales out of a possible 664, and thirty-five out of a possible forty-seven in London. Its policy is summed up as "an endeavour to obtain for the responsible exponents of secondary education, public recognition, professional status and legitimate influence." The association principally interests itself in the various schemes of public examination conducted under Government or University auspices, and in official schemes for the improved management of endowed schools. It has also framed both for assistants and head masters, a superannuation scheme which has been commended by the Charity Commissioners and adopted by other bodies.

Head mistresses in secondary schools are organized on similar lines.

The Assistant Masters' Association was formed in 1891 to protect and further the interests of assistant masters in secondary schools, and is very active in its propaganda. It advocates compulsory registration of teachers with a high standard of qualification, and other measures which may lead to the better payment of assistants; has an employment agency, and gives professional advice. The society has 650 members, of whom two hundred are in London, the majority being engaged in endowed schools. The subscription is 4s per annum, with a proposed further 4s for the establishment of a legal fund.

Assistant mistresses in girls' endowed or proprietary schools have an association with 575 members, of whom 180 are in London high schools. Established in 1884, the society aims at improving the position of teachers in regard to salaries, hours of work, &c.; and affords opportunities for its members to meet together to discuss educational questions. There are both ordinary and honorary members and the subscription is 2s 6d per annum.

Amongst organizations which, by their controlling influence on education generally, powerfully affect the position and status of the Metropolitan teacher, the London

School Board (apart of course from the Education Department) stands first. We have, however, already stated the number of teachers employed by the Board, and their conditions of service, and the public position occupied by the Board makes further reference to its objects and work unnecessary here. Next in importance comes the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church, which has been in active operation for more than eighty years. This Society is the acknowledged representative organization of the Church of England in the matter of elementary education, having 12,000 schools in union with it throughout the country, while its Committee includes the whole bench of bishops. It makes grants to church schools for building, repairs, books, fittings, &c., and with one exception contributes to the whole of the thirty Church Training Colleges in England and Wales. Three of these colleges, viz.—Battersea, St. Mark's (Chelsea), and Whitelands' (Chelsea), containing together about five hundred students—are the property of the Society.

The total income of this Society for 1894 was £33,000, of which £25,000 consisted of contributions and legacies, and £1500 was from trust funds. During the year a sum of £10,832 was voted in building grants to 252 schools; £6117 in grants for repairs or improvement of schools; about £415 in books and fittings, and £2670 in relief of poor schools. Grants to training colleges amounted to £3145. The society defrays the entire cost of the annual examinations in religious knowledge of candidates for admission to church training colleges, of students in training, and of active teachers, and spent last year £1226 in this way, besides contributing towards the salaries of the inspectors of religious instruction.

The society has a training school of cookery at Lambeth, and gives grants to other centres from a special benefaction.



The Catholic School Committee (established 1847) is recognized by the Education Department as speaking authoritatively for the Catholic community of Great Britain. The Committee assists Catholic elementary schools as needed, and has two training colleges in London, one for masters at Hammersmith with forty-six students; the other for mistresses at Wandsworth with seventy-four students.

Wesleyan Methodism is represented by a Committee of Education, which safeguards the interests both of the Sunday and elementary day-schools of the denomination. Of the latter about twenty in London with seven thousand scholars and about sixty certificated teachers are connected with the committee. These schools are managed by local committees, and are conducted on sectarian lines, the committee retaining a staff of inspectors to examine the scholars in religious knowledge. The two London training colleges under the charge of the committee are Westminster (for males, 120 students) and Southlands (for females, 110 students).

The British and Foreign School Society, founded at the beginning of the century, is unsectarian in principle, admitting the Bible as the only book of religious instruction. The schools connected with the society are known as "British," and are managed by committees elected by local subscribers. Many British schools have been taken over by School Boards, the society acting in friendly co-operation with these boards and with local education committees, which have usually adopted the plan of Bible teaching without sectarian bias. The London training colleges of the committee are Borough Road (now removed to Isleworth) for masters, and Stockwell for mistresses. The former has about 140 students, and the latter is licensed for 137 resident and 26 day students.

The Congregational Board of Education carried on a training college for students of both sexes at Homerton for many years, but this has now been removed to

Cambridge, and is for women only. The college has about 150 students, and is entirely undenominational.

Turning to secondary education, we have the endowed schools, each managed by its board of trustees and under more or less general government supervision; and the private schools, which can hardly be said to be under any system of corporate control. There is, however, a Private Schools' Association (now incorporated), the objects of which, as set forth in its Articles of Association, are :— (a) To support and protect the character, status, and interests of persons engaged in the profession of education generally, and secondary education in particular. (b) To procure and diffuse information on all matters relating to or affecting education, teaching, examination, and educational organizations. (c) To encourage and elevate education and teaching, and to improve, originate and organize methods and systems of supplying the same. The Association represents from seven hundred to eight hundred schools throughout the country. Most private schools also recognize unofficially the College of Preceptors. This body, which was established in 1846, and incorporated by Royal Charter in 1849, examines teachers and pupils in middle class schools, and grants diplomas and certificates to those who are successful. In 1894 over eighteen thousand candidates were examined. The council of the college, taking an active part in matters affecting private schools, favours the legal registration of teachers, and has assisted in promoting Bills in Parliament with this object.

Something has already been said (p. 176) of the Girls' Public Day School Company, which has undoubtedly done much to supply a need for education suited to girls of the middle class, and so has been attended with considerable success. The Boys' Public Day School Company and the Church Schools' Company have not done so well, particularly in the Metropolis.

We have now dealt, so far as we are aware, with all the organizations whose position affects the working life of the London teacher. It now only remains to say a word as to societies which are strictly of a benevolent character. Of these, the Society of Schoolmasters, founded nearly a century ago, is supported mainly by the bishops and clergy of the Established Church and by the masters of colleges and public schools. It gives assistance to necessitous masters of all schools which do not come under the Elementary Education Act, and to their wives and children. The Church Schoolmasters and Schoolmistresses Benevolent Institution, which is in its fortieth year, gives annuities to disabled teachers and widows, and home allowances of 5s per week to the orphan children of Church teachers. Besides this, the institution grants temporary aid in cases of need. Another charitable agency is the Governesses' Benevolent Institution, which gives temporary assistance to governesses in distress, "afforded privately and delicately through a committee of ladies," and provides elective annuities, usually of £25 or £30, to 320 aged persons of the same class. The institution has a home for governesses with employment registry attached, and an asylum at Chislehurst for twelve decayed members of the profession, who are provided with apartments, coals, medical attendance, and a pension of £42 a year. Last year this organization gave temporary aid to six hundred applicants, and in various ways it assists a large body of women who have, under the altered system of education, been somewhat hardly dealt with of late years.

#### SCHOOL BOARD VISITORS.

Included under the heading of "Education," though quite distinct from the teaching staff, are the visitors employed by the London School Board, of whom there are about 320. In the course of our district inquiry, the

results of which appeared in the earlier volumes of this work, we were brought into close contact with, and received much assistance from this body of officials, and, in alluding to the nature of their duties in Volume I. (Poverty Series), had pleasure in testifying to their general intelligence and efficiency.

Candidates for the office of School Board Visitor must be between twenty-five and forty years of age, and in addition to proof of general fitness for the position, must pass a medical examination. They commence as second-class officers at £80 a year, rising by annual increments of £5 to £100. They are then promoted, as vacancies occur, to the first-class, when the salary increases annually to a maximum of £120. There are seven female visitors, who start at £50, and rise, in the first-class, to £85. Two-thirds of the visitors may belong to the first-class, and promotion takes place on the recommendation of the School Accommodation and Attendance Committee of the Board.

Subjoined is the actual number of men at each rate of salary :—

Rate per annum.	No.
£120.....	152
£115.....	15
£110.....	8
£105 .....	15
£100... ..	51
£95.....	12
£90.....	11
£85.....	11
£80.....	39
	<hr/>
	314

For the purposes of their work the visitors are divided into groups corresponding to the School Board divisions, each group being under the charge of a superintendent. Each officer has assigned to him an area containing about three thousand children of the elementary school class, for whose

regular attendance at school he is held primarily responsible. Hours of work are officially assumed to be forty-eight per week, though many of the men say their duties take them a great deal longer than that. Commencing at 9 each morning, the visitors report themselves at certain centres, and are, from Monday to Thursday inclusive, engaged on outdoor work in their districts, with an interval for dinner, until 4 o'clock, after which they have a couple of hours' clerical work to do at home. On Fridays they are occupied from 9 A.M. till 8 P.M., and on Saturdays from 9 till 1, in further clerical work. A daily journal is kept by each visitor showing the way in which he has disposed of his time, and is submitted to the superintendent fortnightly. Weekly registers of the attendance at school of every child are sent in to the superintendent at the end of each week by the responsible teachers, and are examined by the visitors, who, noting down every case in which a child has made less than seven out of the regulation ten attendances for the preceding five days, make inquiries during the following week, and report as to the reasons for the irregularity. In flagrant cases, the visitor issues a warning notice to the parents or guardians of the children, and this may be followed up, should absence from school continue, by a series of other documents, including a summons to appear before the Divisional Committee of the Board. Failing all other means, police court proceedings are taken, the visitor attending as prosecuting witness; and this may culminate, in the worst cases, in the child being sent for a short period to a truant or day industrial school, when the visitor must still keep an eye on the case, and be prepared to report as to the subsequent conduct of the child. In some divisions a special officer is appointed to look after these truant children as well as those of the semi-criminal class. Total or partial exemption from school attendance is claimed in many cases on the ground that the child has attained a certain age, has passed certain standards, or has

made 250 attendances during each of the five preceding years, the latter provision applying to children who are mentally incapable of attaining to the required educational standard. As to the accuracy of the facts on which these claims are based the visitor must report, as well as see that the proper forms are filled in by the parents and any other necessary steps taken. In all these matters the officer acts, of course, under the general direction of his superintendent. Yet other forms apply to persons who illegally employ children of school age, although it may be noted with satisfaction that nowadays there is not much to complain of on this score. So that altogether a good deal of clerical work devolves upon the visitor, fully accounting for what might at first seem the large proportion of his time spent in this way. In addition, a complete census is taken once a year of all children of the elementary class between three and fourteen years of age, and is revised as occasion requires.

In the matter of holidays the visitor is liberally treated, having between four and five weeks in the year, besides bank holidays; and a similar remark applies to sick pay. For the first month full salary is given, and may be continued for six months on the recommendation of the Divisional Committee, followed by half-pay for another six months. As to superannuation, visitors are in the same unsettled position as the teachers and the rest of the Board's officials. A deduction of 2 per cent. is made from their salaries for this purpose, but the amount of pension obtainable in return remains quite uncertain.

# CHAPTER VII.

## RELIGION. (Section 86.)

### Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.					Enumerated by Families.							
Census Divisions, 1891.	Fe- males	Males.			Total.	Sex .....	{		Heads of Families, 4728.			
	All Ages.	19	20	54			55	Males .....		Females .....		
(1) Clergyman ..	—	1	1605	590	2205	Birthplace {	In London ....	27 % 1285				
(2) Minister, R.C. Priest ....	—	6	870	336	1202		Out of London..	73 % 3443				
(3) Missionary, Scripture- reader ....	1443	53	934	221	2651	Industrial Status .. {	Employer .....	19 % 901				
(4) Nun, Sister of Mercy ....	1190	—	—	—	1190		Employed ..	76 % 3604				
(5) Church, Ceme- tery Service	470	86	540	253	1349		Neither.....	5 % 223				
<b>TOTAL....</b>	<b>3103</b>	<b>146</b>	<b>3949</b>	<b>1390</b>	<b>8597</b>	<b>TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.</b>						
							Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied	Servants.	Total.	
Total ....							4728	5028	9479	3830	23,065	
Average in family..							1	1.07	2.00	.81	4.88	
						<b>CLASSIFICATION.</b>					<b>DISTRIBUTION.</b>	
						<i>For full details see Appendix A (Part I.).</i>						
						<i>Numbers living in Families. %</i>						
						3 or more to a room	321	1.4	East... { Inner 1949 } 2361			
						2 & under 3	1135	4.9		{ Outer 612 }		
						1 & under 2	2821	12.2	North { Inner 1069 } 6430			
						Less than 1	9196	30.9		{ Outer 3361 }		
						More than 4 rooms			West { Inner 787 } 4854			
						4 or more persons				{ Outer 4067 }		
						to a servant ..			Central Inner 1320 1320			
						Less than 4 to 1 ser- vant, and 4 or more to 2 servts.	2012	12.6				
						All others with 2 or more servants ..	2850	12.4	South- { Inner 454 } 3965			
						Servants .....	3830	16.6		{ Outer 3511 }		
									South- { Inner 1020 } 3985			
							23,065	100		{ Outer 2966 }		
									23,065			
						<b>Inner, Outer, Together.</b>						
						Crowded	10½ %	4½ %	6 %	Inner 6008, or 28 %		
						Not ..	80½ %	95½ %	94 %	Outer 16,457, or 72 %		

The abnormal proportion of old and elderly men in this section is remarkable. (See Diagram.) The longevity of clergymen and ministers is largely responsible for this, whilst the fact that the men engaged in the subordinate occupations seldom adopt these callings until middle life, passing to them from secular occupations, affects the proportions in the same way.

#### DISTRIBUTION.

E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
948	2472	2607	2570	8597

#### DETAILS OF OCCUPATIONS

##### (FROM THE CENSUS DICTIONARY).

(1) Bishop, dean, canon, prebendary, rector (not college), vicar, incumbent, curate, clerk in holy orders, chaplain.

(2) Priest of other religious bodies, pastor, rabbi.

(3) Biblewoman, district visitor, evangelist, lay helper, gospel canvasser: Salvation Army—general, colonel, cadet, etc.

(5) Apparitor, beadle, butt woman, cemetery supt., secretary, servant, chapel keeper, parish clerk, pew opener, vergers, sexton, gravedigger.

## RELIGION.

Of the ministers of religion enumerated in London at the 1891 Census, the clergy of the Established Church largely outnumbered those connected with other bodies. Their parochial organization by which the whole area is divided into parishes, each under the control of an incumbent, gives them unique advantages in dealing with the huge population of London, and this combination of numbers and organization makes the Established Church one of the most powerful factors in the local life of the Metropolis. Registration London includes the whole or parts of 33 deaneries; 20 in the diocese of London, 12 in that of Rochester, and one in St. Albans. These are subdivided into 605 ecclesiastical parishes.

Of the 2205 clergymen returned, about 1650 are engaged in parochial work as incumbents or curates; the remaining 550 occupy other church offices, are chaplains of institutions, are engaged in teaching or are connected with some of the numerous religious societies, having their headquarters in London. None can be termed poor in the sense the word is applied to the labouring population. Their incomes have, indeed, a wide range: those of the more fortunate equalling that of a cabinet minister, whilst some curates may not receive more than £90 a year, and in one case the annual value of a living is only £13; life under such conditions is possible only if the clergyman has other sources of income. The duties to be performed are no less variable: in some thickly peopled parishes the demands upon the time of the clergy are incessant, whilst in others, such as some of the City parishes, the duties are almost nominal, only necessitating the holding of a few services each week, which may be, and often is, done by deputy.

The value of the livings affords some indication of the condition of the clergy, although in many cases it by no



means represents the income of the incumbent, but is reduced by payments to curates and other expenses.\* The Diocesan year books, the *London Diocese Book* and the *Rochester Diocesan Directory*, give the value and other information concerning the livings, and from these sources, with the help of the rural deans, the following particulars have been compiled. London is sub-divided into 605 ecclesiastical parishes under the care of 605 incumbents, assisted by 1062 curates, the value of the livings being £281,504, or an average of £465. A parsonage is provided in 392 cases, and in addition the church aid societies make grants towards the salaries of church workers. The amount contributed by these societies towards the stipends of curates was £33,358 in 1895. Adding this to the value of the livings, and dividing the sum equally amongst the 1667 persons (incumbents and curates together) the average income is £189;† assuming, however, that the incumbent's income is twice that of the curate, the average for a vicar would be £276, and for a curate £138, and these figures probably represent fairly the income of London parochial clergy, the stipend of a curate in priest's orders, ranging from £120 to £150 per annum.

In addition to parochial livings, there are a number of benefices attached to proprietary chapels as well as chaplaincies connected with public institutions and other establishments: these often require the services of additional clergy, who are not included above.

Passing to other religious bodies, there were 370 Roman Catholic priests and 832 dissenting ministers returned. Their social condition and incomes have also a wide range, although stipends do not rise so high as in the Established

\* The incumbent of one parish, whose living is valued at over £800, assures us that for over ten years his net income has not exceeded £100 in any year.

† For local distribution of the clergy in London, with value of livings, deaneries, &c., see Addendum, p. 202, where also will be found some statistical particulars of Nonconformist bodies.

Church, and the number at the lower end of the scale is proportionately greater. Of the dissenting denominations, the Wesleyans, Baptists, and Congregationalists are numerically the most important. The Wesleyan Methodist Church is governed by a Conference, which meets yearly. It accepts and ordains ministers, and appoints them to their circuits, the circuit usually consisting of several chapels in adjoining neighbourhoods. Houses are provided for the ministers in the circuits, and special provision is made for the education of their children and for old age. With Baptists and Congregationalists the appointment of the minister rests with the members of the church which he serves and the stipend depends upon the size and comparative wealth of the congregation. Consequently the amounts paid vary greatly and are at times very low; and the cases are not few in which the minister obtains his living in some other calling, receiving only a nominal sum for his ministrations.

The stipends of London Presbyterian ministers range from £76 to £1500 per annum, the majority receiving £350 to £500, the average being £460 per annum.

Corresponding to the wage-earning class in other walks of life are the 2651 persons (1208 men and 1443 women) returned as missionary, or scripture-reader, &c., most of whom occupy subordinate positions in the religious life of London, though a number of foreign missionaries home on leave are also included. Whether called missionary, scripture-reader, district visitor, or Bible-woman, the duties of these men and women are similar. Their lives are spent amongst the poor, visiting from house to house, holding meetings in mission-rooms, often a transformed shop, parlour, or kitchen, or even a disused loft. In this way they come in constant and direct contact with the poverty, wretchedness, and suffering ever present amongst the dwellers in our poor streets, and are frequently the almoners of the charity that as continuously seeks to alleviate their condition.

Of these men and women, many are employed by and work directly in connection with churches or chapels and visit the homes in the immediate neighbourhood of the building. In nearly all these cases local conditions obtain and it is impossible to give definite information as to position and earnings. These workers are usually selected from those attending the church services, and their office is often a means of providing employment for a worthy member of the congregation, who would otherwise become dependent upon charity; especially is this the case with the women. Sometimes lodging is provided on the church premises, and in nearly all cases the nominal remuneration will vary with the comparative wealth or poverty of the church rather than with the actual value of the services rendered. A small but increasing proportion both of the men and women have received a two or three years' training at a college, home, or deaconesses' institution. Instruction in Biblical knowledge and, in the case of women, of nursing, are the chief items in the course. These trained workers are attached to the larger churches, men receiving £70 to £100 and women £40 to £70 a year.

Nearly half of these men, and many of the women, are, however, connected with and trained by special societies, the society being responsible for the fitness of the worker, and deriving its support from the Church organizations in connection with which it works. The largest of these societies is the London City Mission. Founded in 1835 by a young Scotchman, David Nasmith, its object is "to extend the knowledge of the Gospel amongst the inhabitants of London and its vicinity (especially the poor) without any reference to denominational distinctions or the peculiarities of Church government." It attains this object by means of paid missionaries, drawn from the working class, who are not permitted to engage in any other work. It now employs 480 missionaries, of whom 455 work within the County of London. The missionary

is assigned a district and placed under a local superintendent. Within this district he is expected to visit the families from house to house consecutively, devoting at least thirty hours a week to this work, and in his reports the time spent in this district visitation is stated separately from that occupied in other mission work. Instead of having a district, some of the men are appointed to visit special classes of workers, 122 of the men working in this way. Some of these missionaries work exclusively amongst cabmen, omnibus and tramcar men, police, firemen, navvies, coal-heavers, and canal boatmen; others are appointed to visit men of particular nationalities, Frenchmen, Germans, Jews, and Asiatics; others to visit public-houses, lodging-houses, workhouses and infirmaries, and yet others to visit markets, such as Covent Garden and Smithfield.

Salaries are paid monthly according to a fixed scale. On joining the Mission, single men receive £69. 10s, and married men £74. 10s per annum, with increases of £5 a year after three, seven, twelve, and sixteen years' service, or £20 in all, and £3. 10s for each child under seventeen years of age.

In 1894-5 the missionaries' salaries amounted to £47,163, giving an average of £98 a year, or 37s 9d a week.

Candidates must be between the ages of twenty-four and forty-five, and if married not have more than two children. Should they be accepted they are appointed as probationers for three months, and if retained afterwards the engagement is subject to a month's notice. A fortnight's holiday is granted annually, and three days at Easter, at Whitsuntide, and at Christmas, also in May to attend the May meetings.

The only other large society of this kind is the Church of England Scripture Readers' Association, established in 1844. It employs 130 readers, of whom 109 are working in London parishes, mostly in the poor and crowded parts,

and while subject to the regulations of the society, are under the direct control of the incumbent. Salaries range from £75 to £90 a year, the average being about midway between these amounts. As with the City Mission, regular daily visitation of the poor and sick is the principal duty, to which six hours a day must be devoted.

In both societies provision is made for aged and disabled workers, and for the widows and daughters of those who die in the service; in the City Mission, by means of a special fund; in the other organization the provision for old age is made through the agency of a friendly society, and a special fund is raised for the widows and orphans, the readers paying a small monthly subscription to each fund. Both societies also make attendance at weekly classes and lectures on the evidences and doctrines of Christianity compulsory during the first two years of a man's service.

The corresponding societies for women are the London Bible and Domestic Female Mission and the Parochial Mission Women Fund. The former society employs about 130 Bible-women, who receive 12s 6d a week, excepting a few stationed in highly-rented districts, and paid a special allowance on that account. The Bible-woman must live in or near her district, and devote two days a week to house-to-house visitation, the disposition of the remainder of her time being arranged by a local lady superintendent. The Parochial Mission Women Fund sustained 161 women in 1894, of whom 97 were stationed within the London area. They are drawn from the poorer classes, the rules stipulating that they "shall be *bonâ fide* of the lower class, having had experience of a life of poverty in their own persons." Wages range from 10s to 12s 6d a week. In 1894 the wages paid amounted to £4888, an average of £30 a year, or 11s 3d per week. With both societies the collection of pence by way of savings from the women in the homes visited is an important object: in the former

society for the purchase of Bibles, and in the latter to obtain clothing or for other purposes.

This group also includes persons described as belonging to the Salvation Army. Members of the Army earning their livelihood by trade would naturally describe themselves by their handicraft, so that only officers would be returned here. For Army purposes, the country is divided into provinces, the London province consisting of seven divisions with 139 corps and 250 officers. It is, however, considerably larger than Registration London, which contains seventy-four corps with 183 officers, of whom ninety-five are women. To these must be added 110 cadets in the training home and those employed at head-quarters, making the total for London between 500 and 600 persons. The officers, usually two, in charge of a station have no fixed income. From the collections taken at the meetings they must pay the local expenses and send 10 per cent. of the amounts received to head-quarters. The remainder is available for the maintenance of the officers; but their weekly allowance must not exceed the following amounts:—unmarried men—captains 18*s*, lieutenants 16*s*; unmarried women—captains 15*s*, lieutenants 12*s*; married couples 27*s*, with 1*s* a week extra for each child. Not infrequently the balance is insufficient to provide this pittance, in which case the officers should apply to head-quarters for whatever is necessary. As a rule they prefer to go without rather than become chargeable to the central fund. So strong is this feeling that the divisional officer has now to make a weekly return of all officers who have received less than 10*s*, so that this self-denial may not be carried too far.

As a whole those engaged in the subordinate service of religion compare very favourably with those occupying a similar financial position in other walks of life. They are careful, steady and temperate as a rule, the majority being total abstainers. Obtaining a better return for their money, the homes and general appearance of these people are equal

to those of persons whose incomes are considerably larger.

Under the head of Church and Chapel service 1349 persons were returned, many of whom it might be difficult to distinguish from those returned under Missionary, &c. They include pew-openers, bellringers (when returned as such), as well as persons engaged at the cemeteries, who are a distinct body so far as London is concerned. There are about twenty cemeteries in London, of which seven, being the largest and best known, are owned by private firms, the others are controlled by the vestries or similar public bodies. Some are closed except to those who have bought graves. As fast as the older burial-grounds in the London district are closed, they are replaced by others beyond the boundary, and now ten of the London local authorities have cemeteries outside the Metropolitan area.

In addition to those engaged in the management and a few minor officials, such as beadles and caretakers, the persons employed consist of grave-diggers and gardeners, but the latter are not returned here.

Grave-diggers are a rough set of men and have the reputation of being hard drinkers. This propensity is no doubt aggravated, and to some extent extenuated, by the unpleasantness of their task. They must be strong in order to dig out the heavy clays on which most London cemeteries are placed, and the work being distasteful, men do not readily take to it, but when they have once commenced they seldom give it up. Their constant familiarity with death renders them callous to a degree. They never speak of a grave or a coffin: they dig a hole and put a box in the hole. The hours of work are usually ten per day, between 6 A.M. and 6 P.M., with intervals for meals, although, when busy, longer hours are worked, the regular men preferring to work long hours rather than have additional assistance. The work is imperative, and must be done in all kinds of weather, wet or dry, summer or

winter. During the winter, when they are busiest, it is most difficult, and they often have to work by the light of a candle or lantern.

Two methods of payment are in vogue, the more usual being by the hour, the rate being 6*d* per hour, and 6½*d* an hour for overtime. In other cases a piece rate is paid, reckoned according to the depth of the grave: for ordinary graves the rate is 1*s* per foot, while for deep graves the price rises to 1*s* 3*d* and 1*s* 6*d* per foot. Public graves are sometimes carried to a depth of twenty-five feet, the presence of water limiting the excavation. The contract is made with one man, who engages others to assist him, paying them 6*d* an hour. The cost does not differ much whichever system is adopted: time-work is preferred by the men. Earnings range from about 2*½s* a week up to 30*s* and 34*s* when busy.

In Jewish burial-grounds the graves are but five feet deep, only one person being buried in each. In the solitary example in London, the price paid the grave-digger is 12*s* for a first-class grave and 6*s* if it be for a poor person, although the work is practically the same.

#### ORGANIZATION.

Of religious and philanthropic societies connected with the Church of England and the Nonconformist bodies the number is legion, and the mere enumeration of the principal ones would occupy several pages, nearly all the general societies connected with the various religious bodies having offices in London. Many of these organizations are very large; the income of some of the missionary societies exceed £100,000 per annum and their agents are in all parts of the world. A brief notice of those whose object is to provide additional workers or to improve the condition of the clergy or ministers in London is all that can be given here.



The Church of England has several organizations for increasing the efficiency of the parochial ministrations by providing additional clergy and lay workers or churches and school buildings. Of these two are national in their character; the Church Pastoral Aid Society and the Society for Promoting the Employment of Additional Curates. In 1895, the income of the former was £64,725, and it made 140 grants, amounting to £7864, to churches in Registration London. The other society's income was £69,493, and it made 124 grants, amounting to £6840, to London incumbents. These sums were almost entirely for the provision of curates and lay workers.

Three diocesan societies have a wider range within their more limited areas, providing assistance in any manner required by local needs. The provision of additional clergy, lay workers, new churches, schools, or mission buildings all come within their scope. They are the Bishop of London's Fund and the East London Church Fund in the diocese of London, and the Rochester Diocesan Society in that of Rochester. The income of these organizations in 1895 and the amount granted to parishes in Registration London are shown below:—

Name of Society.	Income, 1895.	Grants to London Parishes.		
		Number of Grants.	For Clergy.	For other purposes.
	£		£	£
Bishop of London's Fund.....	22,243	217	4,181	14,563
East London Church „ .....	17,780	233	10,488	3,541
Rochester Diocesan Society.....	11,705	165	3,875	5,124
Together.....	£51,728	615	£18,544	£23,228

The London Diocesan Home Mission supports missionary clergy within the diocese of London, fifteen of whom are working in the Registrar-General's area. Its income in 1895 amounted to £4824.

All these societies supplement the work of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who, with an income exceeding

one-and-a-quarter million sterling, make a large number of grants to London parishes.

Other Church of England societies for the benefit of the clergy are the Curates' Augmentation Fund, which made grants to twenty-five London Curates in 1895, and the Poor Clergy Relief Corporation, which assists the poorer clergy and their widows and orphans.

The Nonconformist bodies have their own societies, linking the various churches of each denomination into an organic whole. Such organizations are the Baptist and Congregational Unions, the Conferences of the Wesleyan and other Methodist bodies, and the Presbyterian Synod. Connected with these are funds for building additional chapels, assisting churches in poor neighbourhoods, providing for the education of ministers' children, and for the necessities of aged and retired ministers.

Of purely London societies, the more important are the London Congregational Union, the London Baptist Association, the Presbyteries of North and South London, the Nonconformist Council, and the Congregational, Baptist, and Presbyterian Boards, which together form what is known as the General Body of Dissenting Ministers of the Three Denominations.

#### *ADDENDUM.*

The following table (A) shows the local distribution of the clergy of the Church of England in London, and the maximum, minimum, and average value of the parochial livings in each of the deaneries or parts of deaneries into which the London parishes are grouped. The names of the deaneries indicate approximately the districts served, although the boundaries do not necessarily coincide with those of the civil parishes or districts :—

TABLE A.

DEANERY.	Number of Parochial Livings.	Number with Parsonage.	Annual value of Livings.				Number of clergy- men in addition to incumbent.	Church Accommo- dation (Seats).
			Total.	Aver- age.	Great- est.	Least.		
<i>(Diocese of London.)</i>								
East City .....	24	16	£ 23,085	£ 962	£ 2150	£ 264	24	9802
West City .....	30	10	15,117	504	925	13	16	14,034
Hackney .....	27	13	12,223	453	1100	150	58	23,339
Islington .....	39	11	15,416	395	1200	200	58	38,711
St. Sepulchre .....	22	18	8095	368	700	150	37	20,690
Shoreditch .....	21	17	7085	337	600	200	33	17,990
Spitalfields .....	23	20	7322	318	700	200	37	18,800
Stepney .....	39	36	13,433	344	835	150	83	35,220
Chelsea .....	8	7	5715	714	2150	200	20	8850
Fulham .....	20	13	8302	415	750	200	43	18,214
Highgate (part) .....	13	5	9226	710	1450	180	18	11,955
Kensington .....	26	16	17,551	675	1650	150	60	31,705
Paddington .....	20	12	12,852	642	2000	158	55	20,055
St. George, Bloomsbury ...	5	1	2263	452	681	200	10	4350
St. George, Hanover Square	12	8	8025	669	1500	160	37	16,600
St. James, Westminster .....	5	1	2373	475	1210	232	9	3607
St. Margaret and St. John...	11	7	5950	541	1100	250	21	8380
St. Martin's-in-the-Fields...	8	7	4083	510	1150	223	11	6550
St. Marylebone .....	21	10	10,941	521	1100	152	52	23,927
St. Pancras .....	30	21	11,551	385	1280	173	58	33,088
	404	249	200,608	496	1211	180	740	365,867
<i>(Diocese of Rochester.)</i>								
Battersea .....	14	10	4390	313	1200	150	33	12,411
Clapham ...	16	13	10,113	632	3000	200	22	20,847
Camberwell .....	31	16	12,833	414	1600	80	51	30,860
Kennington .....	10	7	3610	361	740	190	29	10,790
Lambeth .....	10	9	3815	381	1100	250	20	11,245
Newington .....	13	12	6006	462	1420	150	23	14,299
Southwark .....	27	23	9162	339	700	180	36	23,323
Greenwich .....	17	12	7035	414	900	150	24	19,267
Lewisham .....	22	12	8609	391	1200	50	27	18,487
Woolwich (part) .....	20	16	7026	351	750	150	19	13,563
Streatham .....	18	11	7245	402	900	150	33	17,902
Barnes (part) ...	2	1	782	391	420	362	4	2588
	200	142	80,626	403	1161	172	321	195,582
<i>(Diocese of St. Albans.)</i>								
North Woolwich (part)	1	1	270	—	—	—	1	900
	605	392	281,504	465	1192	177	1062	562,349

*Note.*—This table only includes parochial livings and the churches attached to these benefices. The addition of the cathedral churches, and proprietary chapels, increases the church accommodation to about 600,000 sittings.

For the nonconforming churches information similar to that given for the Church of England is seldom available, and the want of uniformity in the particulars given detracts from their value in a comparative statement. The following notes respecting the principal denominations may, however, be of value :—

TABLE B, *giving some particulars of Nonconforming Religious Bodies.*

NAME.	Number of Places of Worship.	Sitting Accommodation.	Other Particulars.
Congregationalists ...	148	129,431	There are in addition 76 missions with sittings for 23,680 persons.
Baptists .....	184	105,003	For 34 of these chapels no particulars are given as to accommodation.
Wesleyan Methodist Church.....)	122	89,042	Has in addition 31 missions seating 11,125 persons.
Primitive Methodist Church.....)	66	—	—
United Methodist Free Church .....	34	—	Stipends vary from £100 to about £300. Married ministers receive in addition six guineas a year for each child.
Presbyterian Church of England.....)	13	27,372	Ministers' stipends vary from £76 to £1500. Average £464.
Unitarian and Free Christian Churches )	22	7300	Stipends range from £150 to £900 a year. Average £250 to £300.
Roman Catholic Church .....	83	—	—
Jews .....	25	—	—



## PART II.—DOMESTIC SERVICE.



## DOMESTIC SERVICE.

### PRELIMINARY STATEMENT.

FOLLOWING the plan adopted throughout our industrial inquiry, we give the usual summary statement of the numbers, age, sex, social condition, &c., of those included under Domestic Service. This Part, however, consists only of two chapters, and the first of these enumerates mainly female domestic servants, who are not themselves heads of families, but are included in the families of those returned in the various sections or trades already dealt with. In the second chapter we include, as engaged in work of a domestic or semi-domestic character, inn, hotel, or restaurant employees, washing and bathing service, charwomen, hairdressers, and sweeps, the total number of individuals enumerated amounting, according to the census, to nearly 400,000, divided by age and sex as follows:—

#### *Persons Represented : (A) Census Enumeration.*

##### ENUMERATED BY AGE AND SEX.

	10—	15—	20—	25—	55—	65—	Total.
Males .....	1,595	10,450	11,698	31,863	3,105	1,366	60,077
Females .....	10,486	76,957	77,371	147,113	18,785	8,389	339,101
Total .....	12,081	87,407	89,069	178,976	21,890	9,755	399,178









With such an overwhelming preponderance of women and young men, the proportion of heads of families is, of course, remarkably small, being less than 15 per cent. of the total number employed, as compared with an average of nearly 50 per cent. in the other sections of the population :—

*Persons Represented : (B) Enumeration by Families.*

No.	Sections.	Heads.	Total numbers (excluding their Servants).	Per family (excluding their Servants).	Their Servants.
	Domestic Service.....	19,224	69,426	3.56	1027
	Extra Service (private) ...	39,668	127,244	3.21	886
	Total.....	58,892	196,670	3.31	1913
	Servants.....		1913		
	Total population .....		198,583		

The subjoined statement of social condition shows rather more than the general average of crowding, though far below that prevailing in the Sections of Labour. Charwomen and washerwomen, being to a considerable extent widows with families, are those most prone to live under crowded conditions, and, to a lesser degree, this applies also to married waiters :—

# SOCIAL CONDITION OF FAMILIES.

					Crowded : 39.4 %.	
Lower Classes.	{ 4 or more persons to 1 room 3 and under 4    "    }		... 12,893 or 6.3 % ... 20,217 " 10.0 %	16.3 %		
	{ 2 and under 3    "    }		... 45,545 "	23.1 %		
	{ 1 and under 2    "    }		... 61,609 "	31.0 %		
	Not Crowded : 60.6 %.					
Central Classes	{ Less than 1 person to a room More than 4 rooms    "    }		... 9,595 " 4.5 % ... 40,736 " 20.7 %	27.2 %		
	{ 4 or more persons to 1 servant		... 3,684 " 2.0 %			
	{ Less than 4 persons to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servants    "    }		... 1,826 "	1.0 %		
Upper Classes.	{ All others with 2 or more servants ...		565 "	.3 %		
	{ Servants    "    "    "    "    }		... 1,913 "	1.1 %		
				198,583	100 %	

The 1913 servants enumerated above attend on a little more than six thousand people, and three-fifths of these have only one servant to four or more individuals. Of the 190,600 who have no resident service, 50,000 live under the comfortable condition of having four or more rooms to a family or less than one person to a room, whilst at the bottom of the social scale are 33,000 people who live three or more persons to a room.

*Social Condition (by Sections).*

Sections.	3, 4, or more persons to a room.	2 and under 3 persons to a room.	1 and under 2 persons to a room.	Less than 1 to a room. More than 4 rooms, or 4 or more persons to a servant.	Less than 4 persons to a servant.	Their Servants.	Total.
Domestic Service.	10,333	16,650	21,812	19,318	1,313	1,027	70,453
Per cent.....	14·7	23·6	31·0	27·4	1 8	1·5	100·0
Extra Service.....	22,777	23,895	39,797	34,697	1,078	886	128,130
Per cent.....	17·9	22·6	31·0	27 1	·8	·6	100·0

Both Domestic and Extra Service show steady and continuous increases since 1861, amounting on the whole to nearly 40 per cent., and including almost all branches of service :—

*Changes since 1861 in Numbers employed.*

	1861.	1871.	1881.	1891.
Domestic Service .....	223,300	264,000	290,200	306,200
Extra Service.....	61,600	67,100	78,200	93,000
Total.....	284,900	331,100	368,400	399,200

# CHAPTER I.

## HOUSEHOLD SERVICE, &c. (Section 88.)

### Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.						Enumerated by Families.							
Census Divisions, 1891.	Females.		Males.			Total	Sex .....	{		Heads of Families, 19,224.			
	—20	20—	—19	20—54	55—			Males .....	Females .....				
(1) Domestic indoor servant	76234	162132	4345	11810	919	255440	Birthplace {	In London .. 41 %	7890				
(2) Inn, hotel servant*	3379	8993	4771	15070	593	34406	Out of London	59 %	11,334				
(3) Club service, &c.	139	873	514	1445	110	3081	Industrial Status .. {	Employer .... 1 %	228				
(4) Cook(not domestic)	102	3174	270	2470	158	6174	Employed ... 95 %	18,283					
(5) Gate or park keeper	—	29	17	370	175	591	Neither .....	4 %	713				
(6) Hospital & instn't'n servant..	396	2970	105	1300	190	4973	TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.						
(7) Others	0	201	201	801	192	1497	Total.	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.		Servants.	Total.
TOTAL....	80259	179375	10313	33872	2343	306162	Average in family ..	19,224	15,493	34,709		1027	70,453
The diagram, being for males only, represents a comparatively small minority of the domestic servant class. It shows, as might be expected, a large excess of young men, with a corresponding deficit of those in later life.													
DISTRIBUTION.						CLASSIFICATION.						DISTRIBUTION.	
						For full details see Appendix A (Pt. II.).							
						Numbers living in Families. %							
						3 or more to a room 10,333 14.7						East .. { Inner 5629 } 6985	
						2 & under 3 " 16,650 23.6						{ Outer 1356 }	
						1 & under 2 " 21,812 31.0						North. { Inner 6134 } 15,616	
						Less than 1 " "						{ Outer 9482 }	
						More than 4 rooms 19,318 27.4						West.. { Inner 6114 } 17,921	
						4 or more persons to a servant ....						{ Outer 11807 }	
						Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servts. 990 1.3						Central Inner 7029 7029	
						All others with 2 or more servants . 404 .5						South- { Inner 1634 } 8286	
						Servants ..... 1027 1.5						East.. { Outer 6632 }	
												South- { Inner 6906 } 14,616	
												West. { Outer 7710 }	
						70,453 100						70,453	
						Inner. Outer. Together.							
						Crowded .. 50 % 28 % 38½ %						Inner 33,466, or 47 %	
						Not ,, .. 50 % 72 % 61½ %						Outer 36,987, or 53 %	

\* It should be noted that domestic servants in hotels, &c., are included in line 1. Those returned here (line 2) are barmen, barmaids, waiters, waitresses, &c.

## DOMESTIC INDOOR SERVANTS.\*

Of the 255,500 persons enumerated as domestic indoor servants, about 50,000 were at the date of the return either in daily service or out of place, and so for census purposes formed no part of the "servant-keeping" households.† There remain, then, 205,500 indoor servants of whose condition of service we are able to give some particulars, and of these about 65,000 were in families keeping one servant, 52,000 in families with two servants, 30,000 in families with three, and 49,000 in families with four or more servants, whilst 9500 were in hotels or institutions.

With regard to the households in which one or two servants are kept, we have the following details as to the number of persons served:—

Number of servants kept.	Number of Servants in households where the number of persons served was										Number where family was absent.	Total Servants	
	Over 10	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2			1
One Servant	1176	1099	1875	3119	4778	6728	8872	10,645	11,381	10,264	4110	627	64,674
Per cent....	1·8	1·7	2·9	4·8	7·4	10·4	13·7	16·5	17·6	15·9	6·3	1·0	100
Two Servants	1256	920	1462	2290	3476	4900	6292	7466	8148	8302	4892	2724	52,128
Per cent....	2·4	1·8	2·8	4·4	6·7	9·4	12·1	14·3	15·6	15·9	9·4	5·2	100

From this table it will be seen that in about 30 per cent. of the single-handed places one servant has to wait on six

\* Special information for this chapter was obtained by Miss Mary Paul.

† It must be remembered that a census "household" is limited to those who actually abode in the house on the night of the enumeration. Consequently indoor servants who slept elsewhere on that night (whether at home or in lodgings) are omitted from "servant-keeping" households, although they would appear as "domestic indoor servants" in the occupation returns.

or more persons, whilst  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. have ten or more to serve. It must not, however, be assumed that servants in large families are necessarily more hardly worked than those in small ones, for in these cases a good deal of help would generally be given by different members of the family.

Female domestic servants may be said to fall into three main divisions, the lowest group comprising those found in the roughest single-handed places; a middle group consisting of a better class of servant also in single-handed situations; while the third group includes those serving both in middle-class households and in the large establishments of the wealthy, it being scarcely possible to make any practical division between these two classes of servants. Moreover, each of the three groups merges almost imperceptibly into the other, so that no hard and fast line can be drawn between them.

In regard to servants of the lowest grade, the special information obtained has come chiefly from Poplar and the neighbourhood, but there seems no reason to doubt that it is fairly representative of this class of servant, wherever she may be found. The very large majority of these servants are young; those with any capacity who stay in service for a length of time find places of a better-paid kind. Those who remain as mature women in this lowest class of service are, as a rule, incapable, or of doubtful character. The first trial of domestic service by girls whose fathers are casual labourers is made without any training whatever, and often without even a rudimentary knowledge of housework. In too many cases the home they come from is the reverse of clean or tidy, and lacks the simplest necessities for making it so, whilst that of their mistress may not be much better, she being probably the wife of an artisan or well-paid labourer who does the work of the house herself, with the assistance of a servant of this description.

Next in the scale come servants who are themselves the

children of artisans, policemen and the like. Although they receive no regular training in house-work, the homes they come from are often well kept, and they probably bring a good character from school. They find places very largely in such families as those of small clerks, where the mistress often takes a great pride in her house, doing a great deal of the work with her own hands, and superintending the whole of it, so that the servant is at any rate taught to do the rougher parts of house-work well, and, if a capable girl, becomes fitted to pass on to a better-paid situation.

Many young women in this group turn to domestic service only temporarily when work in the factories is slack, or when they think a change would be pleasant. To such as these the loss of "independence" which service entails becomes unbearable; they prefer the smaller wage and comparative freedom of factory life, and return to it at the first opportunity.

A very independent spirit is a marked characteristic of the lower classes of servants. Even when seeking a place, after arranging with a mistress, they not unfrequently fail to appear on the specified day. They have changed their mind, thinking the work too hard, or the neighbourhood too far from their friends, or what not.

Another curious feature is the frequency with which girls run away from their places instead of giving notice to leave, due, it seems, to a feeling of alarm at the formality of giving notice.

The extreme youth of so many of the servants has doubtless a great deal to do with this, as well as with some of the other peculiarities which are observed. As soon as children have "passed their standards" at the age of thirteen and fourteen, they are expected to begin to earn something, and at the M. A. B. Y. S.\* Registry Offices, for example, may be seen quite large numbers of the merest

\* Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants.

children, whose present ambition, probably, is to mind a baby. Under these circumstances it not unfrequently happens that when such a child is escorted by her mother to her first place, she weeps so bitterly that nothing remains but to take her home again.

The dulness which is the complaint universally urged against single-handed places of all kinds, is felt very keenly by children of fifteen or so; they have always been accustomed to living in a crowd, and are frightened by the loneliness of the long evenings in which they have to sit in the kitchen by themselves, or perhaps be left entirely alone in the house. The manner in which these servants are treated no doubt varies greatly. In some cases the utmost kindness is shown, whilst in others there is no consideration and a great deal of hard work. The worst situations are said to be those in lodging-houses, but complaints are also made as regards service in Jewish East End families. Jewish girls do not go out much as servants, and the Gentile servant in these houses is said to have a hard time of it.

It is, however, an almost universal custom among servants of this class to stipulate for one whole day's holiday in every month; indeed, with most of them this seems to be the one thing which makes the servant's life worth living.

Many of the servants in the lower group come from the workhouse schools, and having received a certain amount of industrial training, are, on the whole, rather superior to others of the same age taking similar places. Barrack-school training, though necessarily of a rudimentary character, gives a useful foundation, so that with subsequent experience these girls may become really capable servants. There is no difficulty in finding places for them, as the demand far exceeds the supply, and accordingly Boards of Guardians are able to make stipulations intended to secure good situations. Before a girl is allowed to go out, the proposed mistress must sign a form of agreement stating number in household, occupation of head of family, kind of



work required, sleeping accommodation, wages (not to be less than £5 a year), time out on Sunday, &c. The agreement also contains a clause (always insisted on) undertaking to permit the girl to be visited by the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants, under whose care all girls coming from workhouse schools are placed, until they reach the age of twenty. When these preliminaries have been settled, the relieving officer visits the house of the proposed mistress and makes inquiries, and if his report is favourable the girl is sent to the situation. The Guardians provide the girl's first outfit, which has, however, to be returned if she leaves her situation within six months; as a rule situations are fairly well kept. The girl is visited once a quarter by a lady on behalf of the Metropolitan Association, and a record is kept of her career; if she proves a failure in two situations steps may be taken to send her to a training home for a year; and this generally has good results. Faults of temper seem to be the chief difficulty. The Association also has lodging-homes to which the girls are sent when they are out of place. These workhouse girls are generally well looked after and kindly treated.

The work of the M. A. B. Y. S. is not confined to girls from the workhouse schools, but extends to all young servants who care to avail themselves of it. In addition to its lodging-homes, the Association has free registry offices all over London, and young girls who get their situations through these are visited at regular intervals. In certain cases it advances the necessary outfit for a girl going out to service, on condition that it is paid for out of the first earnings. It has also a sick fund, to which some subscribe, but the complaint is that there is little thrift among servants of this class, and that they seem incapable of resisting the temptation to spend at once what money they have. With regard to the wages earned by servants of the lower grade, information has been given

by the Association, in the form of a return to the Labour Department of the Board of Trade, as to the wages and ages of the 1692 girls placed through their various registries during the first quarter of 1894. The results of this report as regards the average wages and age are embodied in the following table :—

Age.	Average Wages per Annum.	Number of Servants.
13—	£5. 6s.	57
14—	£5. 18s.	199
15—	£6. 16s.	260
16—	£7. 16s.	286
17—	£9. 2s.	289
18—	£10. 4s.	238
19—	£11. 0s.	149
20—	£11. 10s.	95
21—25	£12. 4s.	96
26—30	£12. 18s.	9
Over 30	£17. 14s.	14
All ages...	£9. 1s.	1692

There is but a very slight variation in the average wages paid to these servants in different parts of the Metropolis. At the age of fifteen the average is £6. 14s in North and East London, £6. 16s in the West and Central, and £6. 18s in the Southern districts. At the age of sixteen the range is from £7. 12s in the West and South, and £7. 14s in the North, to £8 in the Central and East, while at the age of seventeen it is from £8. 14s in the West, to £9. 4s in the North and South.

The actual wages earned begin as low as 1s a week, this amount being received in three cases ; forty-two more were paid less than £5 per annum ; while, at the other end of the scale, we find three servants, all over thirty years of age, receiving from £26 to £36 a year, three more receiving £20, and thirty-nine others earning from £15 to £20. In a very large proportion of cases the wages were calculated

at a weekly rate, an arrangement not at all usual, except with this lower class of servant.

With three servants—cook, parlour-maid and housemaid—a household is complete in all its functions. All else is only a development of this theme. In such a household, and for some many degrees larger, the head of the house is usually his own butler. As households increase in size the course of development in each branch is as follows:—The cook obtains the assistance of a kitchen-maid, and as the kitchen-maid rises into an under cook, a scullery-maid becomes necessary to do the dirtiest work. Beyond this division development cannot go in the kitchen department, except in having two or more cooks and a proportionate number of underlings, unless there is added a “hall boy,” a sort of servants’ servant. The parlour-maid’s work is the same as that undertaken in grander establishments by the butler and his assistants; she has the care of plate and glass, and the place where she works is always called the pantry. As to housemaids, there is no development except that where there are several they are classed as upper and under. In the same way the nursery-maid is in effect the same for all classes. The essential wants of a baby or of young children are always alike, and are supplied in much the same way by rich and poor. The mother plays a part in every nursery more or less important, rather according to her character than to her place in the social scale.

The lady’s maid, who is only to be found in wealthy households, is a very accomplished person, and always ranks with the upper servants. She should be a skilled person—a thorough dressmaker and hair-dresser.

There is a natural promotion in each department, but not very usually in the same household. A scullery-maid may become a kitchen-maid, and a kitchen-maid under a good cook receives the best possible training for a better

situation, and if she has great ability may attain to the leading place in a large establishment. Nurse-girls may become head nurses or pass into the ranks of lady's maids. Housemaids and parlour-maids step up from under to upper, or acquire by long service a very good position in a single-handed place. The wages usually rise with age, or promotion may take the shape of marriage.

Servants usually wear in the morning dresses that will wash, changed in the afternoon for gowns of black or other dark material, with white apron, collar, cuffs and cap. Money is allowed for washing.

The sleeping accommodation for domestic servants is, in the poorer class of households, very indifferent, though perhaps not less good than would be found in their own homes. In larger households the women servants are fairly well off in this respect, but the comfort of men-servants is little considered. The difficulty of finding suitable accommodation for them results from the necessity of separating the sexes. Sitting-rooms hardly exist for the servants in small households, but the kitchen, when comparatively little cooking is done, makes a comfortable room, quite equal to the house-place of the cottages of their own mothers. In larger households the rooms reserved for servants are apt to be cheerless and dull—less desirable than those provided by business establishments for shop-assistants.

The quality of the food given to domestic servants, no doubt, depends on the liberality of the management, but is usually very good, and in all but very rare cases greatly superior to that obtainable by the other members of the working-class families from which servants are drawn, or even by those who are engaged in the outdoor branches of domestic service as coachmen, gardeners, &c. In very large establishments, where the servants are divided into an upper and lower class, the lower table may in some cases be

poorly supplied. In such households the services of a housekeeper or business manager replace the amateur superintendence of the lady of the house, and the system tends to be more exact and discipline more severe.\*

The dulness and monotony of a domestic servant's life seems to be the most generally pressing question ; it is, of course, most emphasized in the case of single-handed places, but is by no means confined to these. The demand is for more Sundays and evenings out, and a monthly holiday ; but the temptations to which mistresses expose their servants by granting these privileges, without inquiry as to whether the girls have friends to go to or some suitable means of spending their time, are complained of by those who take a philanthropic interest in the servants' welfare. Careful mistresses, in their turn, assert that they find that even quite young girls fresh from the country, chafe under any restrictions as to the manner in which they shall spend their leisure, or as to being out late alone. Probably the most comfortable places, taking them as a whole, are those in middle-class families where three or four servants are kept ; in these cases the maids are not, as a rule, overworked, and the mistress can personally supervise the details of her household. In large establishments, where the younger servants are left to the supervision of an upper one, it is very difficult to prevent abuse and irregularities from

*\* Specimen bill of fare of a better-class household :*

Breakfast about 8.—Bread and butter and tea with bacon, dried fish or eggs, but these are by no means universally given.

Lunch 11.—A slight meal of bread and butter or cheese.

Dinner 1 to 1.30.—Meat, hot or cold, potatoes and some plain pudding.

Tea 4.30.—Tea and bread and butter.

Supper 9.—Cold meat, bread and cheese.

Beer (or beer money) is allowed at the rate of about one pint a day for women servants.

creeping in, as the girls are very loyal to their class, and often will not report even serious cases of wrong-doing on the part of a fellow-servant.

A good reputation being naturally of the utmost importance in domestic service, girls are required, on applying for a situation, to furnish satisfactory evidence as to character. The practice of accepting written characters has, owing probably to the incentive which it gave to imposture, been virtually abandoned, and the prevailing custom is for a servant to refer her intending mistress to her last place. There are complaints that some mistresses refuse, out of mere pique or spite, to give a character, thereby placing a servant in a very difficult and unfair position.

Situations are usually subject to a month's notice on either side. By invariable custom, a servant leaves her place on the morning of the day on which her notice expires, whilst, on entering a new situation, she always arrives in the evening.

In regard to wages paid to servants in middle and upper-class families, we have information compiled partly from returns made to the Labour Department of the Board of Trade in 1894, partly from an examination of the advertisements in newspapers, and from other sources.

The returns made to the Labour Department relate to 678 servants coming from 302 households. These households are very fairly representative of the different classes, so far as this fact can be gauged by the number and age of servants kept, and the number of persons served. In eighty-two households one servant only was kept; in 107, two; in fifty-five, three; in thirty-one, four; and in twenty-seven, over four; while about three-quarters of the total number of servants were in households in which the number served varied from two to five persons.

The following table shows the average wage earned by these servants at various ages:—

Age.	Average Wages.	Number of Servants.
—15	£7. 2s.	7
16—	£8. 14s.	16
17—	£9. 18s.	20
18—	£12. 2s.	27
19—	£13. 10s.	24
20—	£15. 0s.	49
21—25	£17. 8s.	184
26—30	£19. 18s.	147
31—35	£21. 12s.	87
36—40	£21. 18s.	36
Over 40	£24. 12s.	81
All Ages	£18. 12s.	678

In this table, as in the previous one, we have very clear evidence that in domestic service wages steadily increase with age up to the period of middle life. This is doubtless mainly due to the fact that servants change places pretty frequently in order to “better themselves,” but it is also true, in a lesser degree, that those remaining in the same situation receive increased pay as time goes on. Proof of this is furnished by the returns, which give in 431 cases (out of the above 678) the wages paid when young women first entered their present situation, and show that their average wage was then £17. 4s, as compared with £18. 12s when the return was made, an interval of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  to  $2\frac{3}{4}$  years, on the average, having occurred. A further interesting fact brought out by the returns is that in cases where servants have remained for any length of time in one situation without a rise of pay, they had, in fact, commenced at an amount equal to or exceeding that which other girls of equal age were receiving at the time the information was collected. So it would seem that two methods of treatment are in practice, the one being to engage a servant at a comparatively high but stationary wage, and the other to begin at a lower sum and increase with length of service.

Arranging the returns in groups according to the number of servants in the household, we find that the average wages rise steadily from those obtaining in single-handed places to those paid by employers who keep five or more servants. Thus, in households with one servant the average wage is £15. 8*s*; with two servants, £16. 16*s*; with three, £18. 10*s*; with four, £20. 7*s*; and over four, £21. 7*s*.

The average age also shows a general tendency to rise, but not quite so uniformly as in the case of the wages. The same holds true if we take each description of servant separately; in each the average wages rise steadily from those obtaining in two-servant households to those paid in households where over four servants are kept, though in some cases the range is much greater than in others; *e.g.* cooks in two-servant households earn an average wage of £18. 16*s*, while where there are over four servants the average is £30, but in the case of housemaids the range is only from £15. 12*s* to £18. 16*s*, and in that of parlour-maids from £19. 6*s* (in three-servant households) to £21. 18*s*.

The following table gives the average wages and age of each description of servant:—

Description of Servant.	Average Wages.	Average Age.	Number of Servants.
		Years.	
General servant .....	£15. 10 <i>s</i> .	25·7	97
Kitchen-maid .....	£12. 6 <i>s</i> .	19·1	23
Nurse-housemaid .....	£15. 4 <i>s</i> .	22·7	6
Housemaid .....	£16. 10 <i>s</i> .	23·9	212
Parlour-maid .....	£20. 2 <i>s</i> .	26·8	76
Nurse .....	£18. 18 <i>s</i> .	28·1	51
Lady's maid .....	£24. 14 <i>s</i> .	32·3	22
Cook .....	£21. 18 <i>s</i> .	32·5	187
Cook-housekeeper .....	£22. 10 <i>s</i> .	43·0	4
Combined average .....	£18. 12 <i>s</i> .	28·2	678

Again we may remark a certain alliance between wage and age. Omitting a few ladies' maids in West and North London, whose services are rather exceptional, we find that cooks and cook-housekeepers easily head the list both in



years and remuneration, whilst at the bottom of the scale in each respect are the kitchen-maids, the classes in between—parlour-maids, housemaids, nurses, &c.—ranging as a rule (though not entirely) in similar comparative order. Taking all classes together, the West appears to have the oldest servants, and the South the youngest, the average age being 28·8 in the one case and 24·0 in the other.

The wages of these servants rule highest, as might be expected, in West London, £20. 4s being the average there, as against £17. 18s in the North, and about £15. 10s in other parts. Cooks average from about £24 in the West to £18 in the South, housemaids from £17 in the West to £13 in the East, and general servants from nearly £17. 10s in the West to £12. 10s in the East.

An examination of the advertisement sheets of daily newspapers on several dates shows a somewhat lower scale of remuneration to prevail than that given above. The average wage offered was, in the case of sixty-one cooks, £18. 4s; for forty-four housemaids, £15. 15s; and for 550 general servants, about £14. It must be borne in mind, however, that these advertisements would refer mainly to servants of the middle and lower middle classes. Wealthy people rarely advertise for domestic help, either obtaining servants from the leading registry offices or replying to advertisements inserted by servants seeking places.

There can be little doubt that from a monetary point of view the advantages of a servant's life are great, and it is not uncommon to find girls who dislike its restraints and suffer much from home-sickness, willing to endure it for a long time in order to be able to send home the help which its remuneration enables them to spare. But domestic service, though lucrative and in many ways luxurious, is not popular. The ordinary relations between employers and employed in other walks of life cannot endure here, and the peculiar ones which do exist have a very unpleasant side, and revolt those who are used to free speech and bold criticism.

It is, in fact, almost necessary to have an inherited aptitude for the relationship involved—a relationship very similar in some respects to that subsisting between sovereign and subject. From both servant and subject there is demanded an all-pervading attitude of watchful respect, accompanied by a readiness to respond at once to any gracious advance that may be made without ever presuming or for a moment “forgetting themselves.” It is a fine line, not to be overstepped in either case without risk of humiliation, but those, whether in courts or households, who are gifted with the tact or the experience to tread safely, are not only able to keep with perfect comfort within the line, but even acquire an exceptional dignity of their own which is very far removed from servility. But this perfection of personal relationship in domestic service is a rare flower, and very vile weeds grow in the same soil. Masters and mistresses are often over-bearing and ill-tempered with their servants, and on the other hand, some base forms of disloyalty and dishonesty are not rare. Viewed as a whole, the results are not altogether satisfactory.

The relations which exist in large households between servants and those they serve are peculiar and in some ways less satisfactory than those which exist in smaller households. When a working-class woman engages a girl to help her in the house-work, or with the care of her children, the relation is perfectly simple. They go about the work together and eat the same meals, if not always at the same table; they are in constant communication and the mutual intercourse, though sometimes rather rough and made uncomfortable by nagging words, is unconstrained. It is when the kitchen ceases to be also the family dining-room, that peculiar relations come into existence, though at first only to a limited extent. Although the family meals are served in the parlour, the mistress of the house may still do the cooking, and will, at any rate, spend much of her time in the kitchen, or in assisting and

superintending house-work. In such cases it is only in the evening that the kitchen becomes the exclusive and lonely domain of the servant. Even in households where two servants are kept, one of whom undertakes the cooking, there will be a good deal of constant intercourse and sharing of work between mistress and servants, or still more, perhaps, between the servants and any grown-up daughters ; but with a household of three or more servants this degree of common life ends, except, indeed, as regards nursery work. Happily children break through all social barriers and provide that touch of nature which makes "the whole world kin." But the barriers quickly close again, and whoever tries to ignore them finds before long how real and how inevitable they are.

Domestic service provides no general bond—perhaps, indeed, rather accentuates class differences ; though to this state of things there are some happy exceptions.

*Registry Offices.*—All classes of servants when out of place resort to registry offices, and many complaints are made as to the character of the private offices. It is admittedly difficult to make them pay honestly, and some, in order to secure a profit, have recourse to very questionable methods of procedure. There are, however, said to be many more offices that are trustworthy now than formerly. A few of the private ones are excellent, and several are kept by ladies, who do not seek to make a profit out of them, while there are others in connection with various charitable and philanthropic associations. Those of the M. A. B. Y. S. have been already mentioned. The Girls' Friendly Society, also, has both registration offices and lodging-homes in various parts of London, and adopts a very complete system of "commendation" from one branch to another, so that no girl who is a member need ever find herself entirely friendless in a strange place, a point which is of especial importance in the case of young servants coming up to London from the country. For servants,

as for other workers, the Metropolis has an invincible attraction, and London servants often object to move even to the suburbs, probably because they find the neighbourhood dull, and the journey to town expensive.

*Men-servants.*—Every English man-servant is apt to consider himself a specialist, and the remark of the butler in *Punch*—"In other houses the maids mostly carries up their coals themselves"—fairly represents the attitude of men towards certain duties which might reasonably have been expected of them.

This want of elasticity on the part of the Englishman has led to his gradual disappearance from all except the most wealthy households. Fashion no longer insists on the presence of a man in fine livery at the front door, and his services as a hall-mark of respectability are in consequence at a discount. His place has been taken by the neat parlour-maid. The lower wages of parlour-maids have, to a certain extent, operated in their favour, but, to balance this, women are not so efficient in their particular duties as men; and the change that has taken place must undoubtedly be ascribed to the want of adaptability on the part of the man rather than to the greater cheapness of the woman. In some places foreign men have been tried, but though more willing than Englishmen they are not so smart in appearance, and their language places them at a disadvantage in their dealings with other members of the household.

From steward's boy to footman, either alone or where others are kept, and from footman to valet or butler, and from butler to steward, are the usual grades of service. Each step after the first represents a change of master, for a "jumped-up" man, *i.e.* a footman who is promoted in the same house to the post of butler, is eyed with little favour by the other servants.

The wages of stewards' boys and pages vary from £10 to £12 per year. Those of footmen depend far more upon

height and appearance than efficiency. A second footman of 5 ft. 6 in. would command £20 to £22, while one of 5 ft. 10 in. or 6 ft. would not take under £28 or £30. Again, a short first footman could not expect more than £30, while a tall man would command £32 to £40.

The hall-porter, whose main duty consists in opening the front-door to visitors, is paid rather more (£50 to £75), for on him devolves the charge of the house in the absence of the family from town.

These are all liveried men, and as such are "lower" servants. Single-handed men, not in livery, are known as "indoor servants," and, like valets, are paid £30 to £50, while the salary of the regular butler, with one footman under him, would be about £60. In the largest households, where the butler is entrusted with the duties of paying and engaging the servants, he is known by the more honourable title of "steward," and can command a salary of £100 to £140. As a rule, men-servants have to pay for their own washing, but, if in livery, their liveries are found for them at the rate of one or two working suits and one or two suits of livery per annum, to which a court suit (breeches, silk stockings, &c.) is added in the wealthiest or most aristocratic houses.

As a class, men-servants are not overworked. They may have to "drive" a little during the season, but there are frequent slack times, when the family is away. In London the chief complaints are of the short time during which footmen can go out-of-doors, and of the close quarters in which they have to live. As far as possible the men are lodged in the basement, while the women have their rooms at the top of the house. This arrangement, though always desirable, often necessitates two or even three men using the servants' hall as their bedroom, while another sleeps in the pantry, and another beneath the stairs. Breathing space is restricted and the want of air, and high living, coupled with the absence of hard work or exercise, lead

naturally to a demand for some form of stimulant, with the result that numbers of men-servants ultimately take to drink. Betting also is very prevalent. As failures, male servants are, perhaps, the most hopeless of all failures, and are the sources from which the ranks of cab-runners and sandwich men are, it is said, most largely recruited.

If successful, the man-servant generally marries, and this step, which of necessity is deferred until late in life, usually marks the moment when he has decided to set up for himself either as manager of a public-house or as a lodging-house keeper.

Though their unwillingness to depart from the path of established usage renders male servants somewhat suspicious of interference, yet any improvement in their lot must assuredly date from a greater knowledge on the part of their employers of the conditions under which they live. In the large houses in which men are employed, it may be said that those masters are the exception who know more than the bare name of the men daily engaged in their service.

The habits of servants in large houses and the strict observance of etiquette give rise to some very curious customs. There are three grades of servants, named "kitchen," "hall," and "room," after the places in which they take their meals. At the bottom of the scale is the kitchen, which is the dining-room of the kitchen and scullery maids. Next comes the servants' hall, where the footmen and housemaids take all their meals and where the butler and valet and the other "upper" servants dine. And lastly there is the housekeeper's or cook-housekeeper's "room," where tea, and breakfast, and pudding after dinner are served to the "upper" servants. Laying the cloth in the housekeeper's room for this special pudding course, is, it seems, often a domestic difficulty. It is nobody's work, and kitchen-maids, stillroom-maids, under housemaids, steward's boys and odd men, all in turn deny

that the responsibility is theirs. Sometimes the direct intervention of the mistress of the house is necessary to determine whose duty it should be. During the meat course in the "hall" propriety forbids any conversation, and it is not until the lower servants are left by themselves that their tongues are loosened, and similarly, the upper servants do not talk until (carrying their plates and glasses with them) they reach the housekeeper's room. The maid of a visitor ranks, of course, with the upper servants. She is addressed not by her own name but by the surname or title of her mistress.

We understand that the plan of paying board-wages throughout the year instead of providing food is increasing, and is usually at the rate of 16s per week for upper men-servants, 14s for footmen, and 12s to 14s for women servants. For the "room" the ladies' maid usually undertakes the catering, while a housemaid or kitchen-maid provides for the "hall." For both, one of the kitchen-maids—a servants' servant so to speak—acts as cook. As the actual expenditure incurred in this way is said not to be more than 10s per week per head, the difference makes a marked addition to their yearly wages, but even so, the cost to masters and mistresses is declared to be considerably less than under the older system.

*Organization.*—Attempts have been made with very little success to organize domestic servants on 'Trade Union lines. A London and Provincial Domestic Servants' Union exists, but is feebly supported, and the Gentlemen's Servants' Mutual Aid Association is simply an employment agency in the form of a limited company, the directors being themselves in service. There is also a Domestic Servants' Pension Fund.

## INN, HOTEL AND CLUB SERVICE.

*Waiters.\**—The bulk of those returned under the above combined heading are waiters and waitresses, of whom there are a very large number in London. In West-End clubs, head waiters are paid from £50 to £60 a year, and other waiters from £25 to £40. In addition, they, like all club servants, receive board and lodging. Remuneration and conditions of service in the best private hotels are much the same as in clubs, whilst in other hotels from 10s to 20s a week, with board and lodging, is the prevailing scale. The best class of society restaurants pay head waiters 25s to 30s a week, and assistants from 15s to 20s; in medium restaurants the wages are about 10s to 12s. Board is usually given in these cases, but not lodging. Excepting a usually substantial Christmas box, gratuities are rarely allowed or given in clubs, but in hotel and restaurant service they are a fully recognized source of income, and, indeed, it may be said, as a rule, that the greater the tips the lower are the wages. It is difficult to estimate the value of these gratuities, but probably in restaurants they equal the wages paid, and in hotels add about 50 per cent. to the salary. The number of tips obtained by a restaurant waiter naturally depends a good deal on the position of the tables of which he has charge, and in order to equalize the chances it is the practice in some houses for the men to change tables every day.

The rates of pay above given apply to the comparatively limited number of English houses, served by a native staff, but a large proportion of Metropolitan restaurants and many hotels are owned by foreigners who almost exclusively employ their own compatriots, while the waiting staff of

\* We are indebted to Mr. C. H. de Leppington for a considerable part of the information here given in regard to waiters.



the great modern hotels consists mainly of foreigners. Unlike his English *confrère*, the German, Swiss or Italian waiter usually receives no wages, but, on the contrary, has to pay his employer, such payment not uncommonly taking the form of a percentage of 6*d* or more in the pound on his gross takings.

In some cases, however, a fixed sum amounting, perhaps, to as much as £1 a week has to be paid by the waiter, whilst in yet other instances no money is paid directly to the firm, but the men have to pay the wages of the boys who help them, and of the women who clean up after them.

Usually the foreigner has in his own country been well trained in the duties of his calling, and he comes here to complete his professional equipment by that valuable adjunct, a knowledge of the English language and of English methods and habits. Supplied by frugal parents or friends with money for his immediate needs, he is willing to accept almost any terms in order to obtain the desired qualifications. This end gained, he sometimes goes home again, but should he stay here he will gradually get into a better berth, and may with incessant toil make a fair living—a couple of pounds a week, it may be.

In most of these foreign restaurants the waiters are all on equal terms, but in some cases a few principal waiters have charge of the room, take all tips, and pay a small wage of 14*s* or 15*s* a week to any others whom they may engage to assist them.

In restaurants where the customer pays his bill through the waiter, the latter is held responsible for its due payment, and what is known as the “cheque system” is generally adopted. The waiter, on beginning his day’s work, pays in to the proprietor or his clerk from £2 to £5, to cover the value of the orders he is likely to receive during the day. With every order given to him he hands in cheques to an equivalent amount, and if the value of the orders exceeds at any time the sum deposited he must pay

in more money before he receives the dishes. What is paid to him by the customer he retains until settling time, whilst if anyone leaves without paying he must bear the loss. Many are the stories told of unfortunate waiters who have been victimized in this way.

Besides such losses, the waiter has to pay away a varying portion of his earnings on account of breakages. Accidents will happen even to the most dexterous "knight of the napkin," and several systems are adopted of recouping the proprietor for damage to his fragile plant. Sometimes each waiter is responsible for his own breakages, in other cases a levy is made on all the staff, and yet a third and more customary method is to have an indemnity fund to which each employee is required to contribute a fixed weekly sum varying from 4*d* to 1*s*, and to make good any breakages which may occur in excess of the amount in hand. Such a fund, in the hands of a not too scrupulous proprietor, might without much difficulty be made a source of personal gain.

Other outgoings to which the waiter is liable include more than an average expense for washing, and fines for lateness or other breaches of discipline. For the prompt and correct execution of orders, too, he is largely dependent on those who make ready and pass to him the dishes from the kitchen, and who are apt to take an unnecessary time in so doing if he fails to propitiate them with a fee; so that the waiter, living mainly upon the tips of his customers, is himself preyed upon in turn.

A waiter's total hours of duty are invariably long. In hotels and restaurants, he will, it is true, get some rest in the afternoon, but even then his actual working day will be fully twelve hours in English houses and thirteen or fourteen in foreign ones. One Sunday off in two or three is usual, or half of each Sunday. In clubs the staff is often divided into two sides, which are busy on alternate days. The busy side will be on duty all day save for a short

interval in the afternoon, whilst the slack side will only work for six or seven hours.

Terms of engagement vary—by the month, week, or day. Many of those serving in West End restaurants are engaged for the evening only, but a large proportion of them are in City eating-houses during the day.

There is, amongst English waiters more particularly, a wide fringe of casual labour. A large number of men only find employment in times of heavy pressure, or at suburban pleasure resorts in summer. These men are known to their fellows as “tea garden hands,” or more facetiously, if not so courteously, as “tea leaves.” Faults of character—unsteadiness, slovenliness, or carelessness—are only too common amongst this class.

A London waiter must, in the ordinary course, be a young or comparatively young man, sharpness and agility being essential qualifications to success. A man over forty or forty-five is seldom to be found in the ranks. By that time he has either been promoted to a head waitership or some such dignified and lucrative post, or has taken himself to another calling, or, if he has been careful and saved money, has gone into some form of the refreshment business on his own account. Germans are said to prefer returning to the Fatherland when they can do so without fear of the military law. There they find many snug berths as commissionaires, cicerones, or interpreters, for which, with their knowledge of English, they are well adapted. Italians often remain in England and become proprietors of restaurants themselves. Several of them will put their money together, and start a venture on true co-operative lines, sharing the work and dividing the profits.

The future prospect of the English waiter is not an encouraging one. Surely—even rapidly—he is being ousted both from hotel and restaurant by the ubiquitous foreigner, and now his only remaining strongholds are medium City dining-rooms and West End clubs.

The reason for this change is not difficult to perceive. Not only will the foreigner work for less wages, but he is better educated and more thoroughly trained. Whilst in this country a waiter's duties are "picked up" in an irregular way, in Germany or Switzerland the work is properly taught by a regular system of apprenticeship. The knowledge of continental language which the foreigner possesses is found useful, and he has, moreover, a higher reputation than our own countrymen for neatness and civility.

On the other hand, English tea and refreshment rooms have considerably curtailed the trade of the older Italian restaurants, and so have led to some little displacement of foreign labour by that of English women and girls.

*Other Male Employment.*—The *chef*, it goes without saying, is a most important personage, and he is invariably well paid, getting from £200 to £300 a year, or from £4 to £6 a week, in hotels, clubs and society restaurants, and £2 or £3 in an ordinary refreshment room. In clubs he will often increase his income by taking pupils, whilst in the grill-room he has good opportunities of receiving gratuities from customers. He is usually a Frenchman, but sometimes an Italian, and is assisted by women cooks, kitchen-maids, &c.

*Carvers* are employed mostly in City restaurants, and only work three or four hours per day, receiving, as a rule, from about 2s 6d to 3s 6d for this, in addition to tips either from the customers direct, or from the waiters for whom he carves. These tips are generally faithfully rendered, the waiter being dependent on the carver in suiting the tastes of his regular customers, as well as for quick serving in the case of diners who are always in a hurry. Some men work without any fixed wage, and thus are entirely dependent on tips. Carvers also get evening engagements, either in their own branch of work or as waiters.

The *club steward* occupies a responsible and desirable position, his remuneration usually ranging from £150 to £200 a year with board. All the servants save the *chef* are under his supervision, and he attends to the daily marketing.

*Barmen and potmen*, although counted here, are a distinct class, and have already been described under the heading of "Publicans" (Vol. III., Part II., Chapter VII.). Other male employees connected with inn and hotel service include butlers, whose salaries range usually from about £50 to £100 a year with board and lodging, &c.; hall, kitchen and luggage porters, and scullery-men, whose earnings in money or money's worth may be roughly averaged at £1 a week; and page boys, paid customarily from £10 to £12 a year with board, lodging and livery.

Taken all round, the most comfortable situations are probably to be found in the West End clubs. The servants' hall is usually bright and cheerful, and well provided with books and games. Musical and social gatherings are allowed at times, and the servants encouraged to provide amusements for themselves, such as cricket. Some of the leading servants have started at the club as boys in buttons, and will in all probability remain in the same service for the rest of their working lives, with prospect of a pension or some other ultimate provision should they live long enough to receive it.

*Barmaids and Waitresses*.—In her report to the Labour Commission, Miss Eliza Orme deals fully with the conditions of employment of barmaids and waitresses, and although some additional and corroborative evidence has been obtained, we are mainly indebted to her inquiry for the facts which follow. The hours of barmaids employed in public-house or railway refreshment bars are nearly always long, sometimes amounting to one hundred per week, but more commonly averaging seventy to eighty.

The following may be taken as a fairly typical example of a barmaid's working life :—She goes into the bar at 7 A.M., principally to dust and tidy up, has breakfast at 7.30, and then half an hour for dressing, returning to the bar before 8.30. Lunch at 10.30; an interval for dinner at 2 or 3 o'clock (the time varying according to the number of the staff employed), followed by about two hours' rest; tea at 5, supper at 8.30, and finish a few minutes after closing time (12.30). On Sunday she is in the bar from 12.45 till 3, and from 6 to 11 P.M. She has one Sunday and one week-day off each month, and a week's holiday in summer.

In theatre and music-hall bars the hours are only from thirty to forty per week, work beginning at 6 or 7 P.M. and finishing between 11.30 and 12.30.

Sometimes in large establishments it is found practicable to work two sets. Thus in one of the principal railway bars one party of girls commences at 7 A.M. and works till 9.30 P.M., having intervals for meals and about 2½ hours for rest, whilst a second party begins at 11.30 A.M. and finishes at 11 P.M., inclusive of meal times and one hour's rest in the afternoon. Arranged to suit the peculiarities of their business, this system may prevail in other branches of the trade.

In temperance hotels the hours differ but little from those prevailing in licensed houses, but in the tea and other refreshment rooms, which have become so popular of late years, the working day is much shorter. These establishments, in which the large and rapidly increasing class of waitresses is principally to be found, are only open as a rule from 8 A.M. to 8 P.M. on week-days, and not at all on Sundays. And even with this the system of reducing hours by having two sets of girls, commencing and finishing at different times, obtains in some instances, as it does also in cocoa-rooms, which, although open early and late, appear to treat their employees fairly. Probably the longest hours in the trade are worked in small coffee-

houses. Taking all classes of hotels and restaurants together, the following is a summary of evidence as to hours of work:—

Hours.	Licensed Houses.	Temperance Houses.	Total	%
Not exceeding 50 per week	20	18	38 or	6.5
51—60	45	50	95	16.2
61—70	262	10	272	46.3
71—80	99	—	99	16.8
81—90	59	—	59	10.1
91—100	19	—	19	3.2
Over 100	5	—	5	.9
	509	78	587	100

There is, on the whole, a noticeable tendency towards a ten hours' day for barmaids and waitresses.

In the matter of payment for services every variety of custom prevails, from wages with full board, lodging, washing, &c., to wages without extras of any sort.

Hotel proprietors and large refreshment contractors mostly pay 10s or 12s, with board and lodging, to ordinary barmaids, rising to 15s for first barmaids, and from 18s to 38s for manageresses.

In temperance restaurants girls get 6s to 8s a week at first, increasing to 10s or so at the end of a year. The most capable become counter assistants at 12s to 20s, and may rise to be manageresses of depôts at 25s to 28s. Lodging is hardly ever provided in these places, but usually there is some food allowed, whilst the best firms arrange for the waitresses to have dinners and teas at a very cheap rate, and pay for the washing of the regulation aprons, caps, collars or cuffs, which must be worn during business hours. A summer holiday of seven or fourteen days is also customary, and in at least one instance—and that of an old-established company in a very extensive way of business—there is also sick pay and medical attendance and a money grant to relatives on the death of an employee. Employment in this company's depôts is eagerly sought by

a very respectable class of girls, and it is made a condition that they shall be living with parents or guardians, this, besides serving as a guarantee of character, ensuring that the girls are not entirely dependent on their own earnings. In other cases firms pay as much or rather more in wages, but do not allow the extras, so that a deduction of 2s 6d or 3s a week must be made for washing, uniform, breakages, &c. Wages of waitresses, and counter hands in cocoa-rooms are mostly 12s or 13s a week. Miss Orme states the rates of pay in 428 cases as follows:—

Per Week.	With board and lodging.	Partial board or none.
Not exceeding 8s	102	26
Over 8s to 10s	182	30
„ 10s „ 15s	33	24
„ 15s „ 20s	11	14
„ 20s	5	1
	333	95

Gratuities form a considerable addition to the earnings of barmaids and waitresses in hotels or railway bars, often in the latter case exceeding the wages; but in temperance rooms tips are seldom allowed.

Girls in this business usually commence at fifteen or sixteen years of age, and do not receive any payment for the first month. They most generally live at home with parents or near relatives, but where this is not the case and they have nothing but their own earnings to depend upon, it must be a hard matter for them to support themselves decently and keep up the respectable appearance which is necessary. Under such circumstances, and thrown so much into contact with persons of the opposite sex, it is not difficult to perceive what must be the result in some instances. Witnesses of experience in the trade are not wanting who say that questionable morality largely prevails amongst young women in the hotel and restaurant business, but this we are not disposed to assert.



*Trade Organization.*—Although there is quite a multiplicity of societies connected with hotel and restaurant employment, not one of them can be strictly termed a trades union, the general prevalence of the tip system making it almost impossible to lay down any definite standard of wages. The organization of English employees is practically confined to the City; where there are two societies of cooks and carvers, and one of waiters. The Society of Cooks and Cutters, known as the "Social Few," is old established and somewhat exclusive, seldom adding to its membership of about 150. A candidate must have been in one situation for at least three years, and be at the time of nomination in permanent employment at an establishment which, in its manner of treating its employees, meets with the general approval of the members. The main object of the Society appears to be to keep its members fully employed, and to do this by maintaining, through the individual agency of those connected with it, a monopoly of employment at certain good City houses. It is considered the strict duty of every member, on leaving his situation, whether permanently or temporarily (and even if only absenting himself for a single day), to report the fact immediately to his Society, which then sends to the place the man whose name stands first on the unemployed list, and who is bound to go. If he does not like the place, however, he can leave next day, and declare on the list again, when, if required, another man is sent. In this way houses are kept constantly on the Society's register, whilst the system suits well all round. Men who want a little holiday, or who are ill, can have their place retained for them while away, and those who do not like constant work, and will not take a regular berth, are content to fill up these temporary vacancies, eking out a living by special jobs, such as banquets, &c. The employers are content, because they know that in a business in which promptness in filling a vacancy is

absolutely indispensable, they can always rely upon getting a suitable man without delay. This method of maintaining a hold of situations is not confined to this Society, but is recognized, more or less, in the other organizations connected with this trade. £3 a week for cooks and 2s 6d to 5s a day for carvers or cutters are considered by the Society, unofficially, to be fair rates of wages, but no attempt is made in any way to enforce these or any other sums. Where, however, a member fills a temporary vacancy, it is expected that he should not accept a lower wage than the person whose place he takes. The entrance fee to the Society is 1s, and the subscription 8d per week, 2d of which serves to pay working expenses, the remainder, together with the proceeds of a benevolent fund, being used to defray the funeral expenses of a deceased member or member's wife, or to assist by loan and grant cases of distress. Any surplus is, with the exception of a small balance, divided amongst the members at Christmas.

As the result of a secession from the "Social Few," the Perseverance Society of Cooks came into existence, and adopts somewhat different methods, spending its funds partly in advertising for berths for any unemployed members and in allowing them a small weekly sum for travelling expenses, but abolishing loans and grants and the system of sharing out. The "Perseverance," which is a small select Society, has a subscription of 1s 4d per month, and offers funeral benefit to members or members' wives. A quite new Society is that of the City and West End Cooks and Carvers, with nearly sixty members, mostly carvers, and a subscription of 6d per month. In this organization the sole object, apparently, is to get and keep employment for its members, and to this end it has power by its rules to fine heavily any member who does not give satisfaction to his employers. The theory held by this and the other Societies is that a member must be

proficient in his work, and all reserve to themselves power, direct or indirect, to treat proved inefficiency as a punishable offence.

The City Waiters' Provident and Pension Society was founded in 1867 by waiters principally engaged at the Corporation and City companies' banquets, or at City taverns (the typical "Robert" of *Punch*). Its objects are to provide for sickness, distress, and old age, and it has about two hundred members. Entrance fees and contributions vary according to age, the former from 3s 6d to 5s, and the latter from 2s 2d to 2s 8d per month. There is also a separate subscription of 4s a year to the pension fund. Benefits include sick pay of 14s a week for twenty-six weeks, and 7s for a further like period; funeral money of £12 for member and £6 member's wife; medical attendance and medicine; and small pensions to aged or incapacitated members. After five years' membership sick pay increases to 16s and 8s per week, and death benefit to £14 and £7. The Society receives considerable support from wealthy subscribers connected with the City, and has invested funds to the amount of £3000.

Amongst foreigners engaged in this business the premier organization is undoubtedly the International Hotel Employees' Society, which consists mostly of Germans, though there are a considerable number of members belonging to other nationalities. Founded in 1877 at Geneva, this Society is truly an international one, being represented in almost every important city in the world, and having, in all, ninety branches in seventeen different countries. The London branch has 1200 members, amongst whom are men holding good positions in most of the principal Metropolitan hotels. Combined in this organization are the advantages of a benefit society, employment bureau, and social club. For a subscription of 2s per month, a member has the use of the club-house, can have board and lodging at small cost, is found a

situation when needing it for a nominal fee, and is entitled to sick pay for six months in the year on the following scale: For first five years of membership, 2*s* a day; five to ten years, 3*s* a day; over ten years, 5*s* a day. There is also a benevolent fund, from which grants or loans are made to distressed members, and a scheme of superannuation has lately been inaugurated. The Society is governed on democratic lines, committees being elected by popular vote to manage respectively the headquarters of the movement, each section or branch, and each club-house. Headquarters are changed every five years, and are at present at Dresden. Save, perhaps, in the matter of youths put to their first situations as kitchen-boys, &c., the Society does not interfere in questions affecting wages, but it is strict in regard to the proper training of its members. Candidates for admission must have served a two years' apprenticeship, and must produce indentures to this effect.

There are two organizations in London which are strictly confined to German hotel employees. Each is a branch of a larger society, and has similar objects to those of the "International," though not nearly so extensive in its ramifications.

Italian, French, and Swiss employees are organized on corresponding lines, each combining in one a benefit society, club, and employment agency. The Italian Society has about three hundred members, comprising cooks and waiters resident in London. Entrance fee is 5*s*, subscription varies from 1*s* to 2*s* per month, according to age on admission; and sick pay is 14*s* per week for three months, and 7*s* for a further like period in one year. Independent as to their club-house and employment registry, the Swiss hotel employees in London, are, to the number of nearly 250, affiliated for sick and funeral benefits to the Union Helvetia, a large Society having its headquarters in Switzerland. Subscription to the club, &c., is 1*s* per month, and to the general Society 2*s* per

month, sick pay in return being 2s per day for a limited period in any year. Assistance is given to distressed members, and a scheme of superannuation is under consideration.

In addition to the above organizations there are a number of societies, such as the London and Provincial Hotel and Restaurant Union, which are simply employment agencies conducted on private commercial lines.\*

#### LODGE, GATE AND PARK KEEPERS.

The principal employer of labour under this heading is the London County Council, which has on the staff of its parks and open spaces more than 250 persons who are here included. The parks under the control of the Council are divided into five classes, of which Victoria, Battersea and Finsbury Parks rank as first class; Brockwell, Dulwich and Southwark Parks as second class; Clissold, Ravenscourt and Waterloo Parks as third class; whilst in the fourth class are Kennington Park, Myatts Fields, Peckham Rye and extension, Royal Victoria Gardens, North Woolwich and Victoria Embankment Gardens. Park superintendents are remunerated as follows:—In first-class parks, salaries commence at £150 and rise to £200 by annual increments of £10; second class, commence at £125 and rise to £150; third class, £100 to £125; fourth class, £80 to £105. In the last three classes the annual increase is £5 until the maximum is reached. Superintendents are provided with residence, gas and water free, receive full pay during sickness and have a fortnight's holiday every year. They are only required to work six days a week, having a holiday every second Sunday and a day off in the alternate week.

\* Just as this volume goes to press, we hear of the formation of an "Amalgamated Waiters' Society" on definite trades-union lines, its chief objects being to obtain a minimum wage of 30s a week and to limit the hours of work to 12 per day. The entrance fee is 6d at present, and subscription 2d per week.

The duties of park superintendents are numerous and responsible, including the supervision of constables, labourers, and all other persons employed in the parks ; the maintenance both of good gardening and good order ; the safe custody of all the Council's property within their jurisdiction ; the carrying out of regulations with regard to games, skating, bathing and other pastimes ; the personal examination of gymnastic apparatus every week, &c. They are likewise constituted the judge of what is the correct language to use at meetings held in the parks, and must ascertain the name and address of any orator who utters objectionable remarks, and give a full report of the words used.

In gardens and other places where no superintendent is employed, the duties, so far as applicable, are performed by an "officer in charge," who may be either a foreman, inspector, senior constable, or sergeant, this depending upon the size and importance of the open space.

Park foremen have charge of the gardeners, and are paid from 28s to 40s, according to class. They receive pay during illness, and are under the same conditions as to time off and holidays as the superintendents. When the superintendent is absent the foreman usually represents him.

The conditions under which the constabulary staff of the London County Council are employed are as follows :—

Inspectors are paid 35s a week on appointment, rising 1s per week each year to 40s. Senior constables on open spaces start at 30s and increase each year by 1s a week to 34s. Their hours are forty-eight per week from the middle of November to middle of February, and fifty-four during the rest of the year, and they are paid 7½d per hour for overtime.

Sergeants receive 28s for a week of forty-eight hours from November to February, and 30s for fifty-four hours during remainder of year, with overtime at the rate of 7d per hour. Constables are paid 6d per hour, whether for

ordinary or overtime, and work the same hours as the senior constables and sergeants.

The whole of the permanent constabulary force is provided with uniform, receives pay in illness, and is entitled to seven or fourteen days' annual holiday, according to rank. A few temporarily employed men do not receive uniform, but are on the same footing as the constables in regard to hours and wages.

*Caretakers* are employed to take charge of small recreation grounds, such as squares, children's playgrounds, or churchyards which have been converted into public gardens. They receive 24s or 25s a week, are provided with a hat and guernsey free, and are under similar conditions to other employees as to hours, sick pay and holidays. They are not paid for overtime, but are seldom required to work more than the regulation hours.

The Superintendents of the Royal Parks (which include Regent's, Greenwich, St. James's, Green, and Hyde Parks, and Kensington Gardens) start at £150 per annum rising £5 a year to £250, and have free house accommodation. Park foremen are paid 35s to 50s, inspectors 35s, sergeants 27s to 30s, and park or gate keepers 18s to 30s, the usual amount being 24s. Several of these men are army, navy or police pensioners, and some have lodges rent free.

Other persons employed in parks, &c., are nearly all gardeners or labourers, and have been included in Vol. III. (Part IV., Chapter IV.).

#### HOSPITAL AND INSTITUTION SERVICE.

This sub-division includes, in addition to the general service staff of a hospital, a medley of superintendents of almshouses, asylums, benevolent societies, emigrants' homes, industrial schools, model lodging-houses, private infirmaries, servants' registry-offices, crèches, &c., &c., and

also some of the beadles and porters employed in the service of such institutions.

The qualifications for such posts are good health and trustworthiness, supported by private recommendation, and the main characteristic of the employment when obtained is its permanence. For such positions as that of female superintendent, a certain preference is given to those who have had some form of hospital training; while porters and beadles and minor male officials are frequently chosen from non-commissioned officers belonging to the army reserve.

We have spoken elsewhere (Chapter IV. of Part I.) of the nursing staff of hospitals and institutions, and here we have to mention only the various officials and servants directly connected with the administration and service of such places.

Every hospital has a large medical staff,\* some of whom are resident and known as house physicians and surgeons, and are always boarded and lodged at the expense of the hospital, whilst others, such as the surgical and medical registrars, curators of museums, anæsthetists, &c., though attached to the service of a particular hospital, are, as a rule, non-resident. In addition there is an honorary medical staff composed of eminent physicians and surgeons who give up part of their time from their private practice and devote it to the service of the poor patients in the hospital.

Nearly all the medical posts, resident or otherwise, in the London hospitals, are positions of honour, which are granted and accepted as a recognition of merit, and very often no salary is attached to them. Even where there is a salary it will not be much over £50, and probably rather less. In addition to the medical officers there are the permanent

\* Hospital doctors themselves are not, of course, included under this particular heading, but it is convenient to speak of their duties here, in connection with the work of their subordinates.



hospital officials and servants: the chaplain, treasurer, steward, the clerks and accountants, enquiry officers, dispensers, &c., and below them cooks, kitchen-maids, housemaids, wardmaids, scrubbers, laundry women, porters, &c. Of these, the treasurer, secretary, steward, receiver of rents, &c., as a body, form the higher permanent officials of the hospital who are responsible for its proper administration and service in all matters not connected with nursing. Each of them is subject to, and has to report to, various finance and house committees and boards, which in their turn are elected partly from the hospital staff and partly from amongst the governors. In addition, every large hospital has one or more chaplains, who conduct daily services in the chapel, where there is one, and also, on certain days of the week, in the wards themselves. Enquiry officers are engaged to ascertain the condition in life of those who apply at the out-patients' department, so that a check may be put upon the applications of those who are rich enough to pay for regular medical attendance themselves.

On arrival, a patient enters at the door of the out-patients' department; if a man, he is asked by the porter his name and his illness, but should the applicant be a woman these questions are put by a "sister" retained especially for this purpose. The majority of patients cannot describe their ailments or do not know how to begin, so that the opening question generally has reference to some specific inquiry—"Have you broken your arm?" "No, it's my throat"; and off the patient is sent without more ado to await the rounds of the house physician. Those who are not seriously ill are arranged on long rows of benches, down which the house physicians and surgeons walk, and one after another they are attended to and prescribed for. If suitable cases, they are sent up, after examination, to the wards, either by a lift, under the care of the lift attendant, or on stretchers carried by two

porters, or they walk upstairs themselves. Once in the wards they are washed by the bath attendant and then put to bed. Each day the doctors come round, attended, in those places where there is a medical school, by a crowd of students. The case is explained, the changes noted, and diet and treatment prescribed. The patients' meals are prepared and cooked in the hospital kitchen, and it is the duty of the ward "sister" to send down the night before an estimate of her probable needs to the steward's department, for the steward or storekeeper is generally responsible for the purchase of all food consumed in the hospital. The steward also keeps the books in which the dates of admission and discharge of patients are recorded, and often has charge of the Samaritan fund, out of which grants are made to very poor patients.

In the table of wages given below only those who are actually servants belonging to this section have been enumerated. Scrubbers and wardmaids form the largest body amongst women servants, and porters amongst the men. A wardmaid is employed in the ward itself. She is the servant of the nurses in the ward, and lights the fires, scrubs the floor, and prepares the sisters' tea, &c. She is paid from £13 to £17 per year, and receives in addition board, lodging and uniform. If intelligent she can learn a considerable amount of nursing, and some, after a few years' service, obtain posts as assistant nurses in the fever hospitals, and so work their way upwards. Where no lodging and only partial board is provided, a wardmaid is paid about 10s 6d per week.

Below them are the scrubbers, who are constantly occupied in keeping the long passages and staircases clean. Permanent scrubbers are paid 8s to 12s per week, or £26 per year, and are often allowed tea or a pint of beer. Extra scrubbers are taken on as wanted, and earn about 2d or 3d per hour. Housemaids receive £16 to £18 per

year; kitchen-maids, as a rule, rather less; while the cook may be paid anything between £20 and £40, depending on the size of the hospital. The majority of the women servants in hospitals and similar institutions, as shown in our table, earn between £15 and £19 per annum. Of the men, 24 per cent. earn £50 per year and over, and 32 per cent. between £30 and £34. Those at the higher rates include the principal gate-porters, who have to note, among other duties, the times at which the nurses enter or leave the building. The lower sums are earned by the minor attendants, or by porters in the smaller "special" hospitals.

A few hospitals do their own washing, and employ a staff of laundry women, supervised by a resident laundress, who is paid £30 to £37, and allowed board, lodging and uniform. The regular laundry hands earn 10s per week, and are allowed beer and tea:—

*Wages of Servants in Hospitals, &c.*

Rates of Wages.	52 Hos- pitals.		22 Infir- maries.		9 Fever Hos- pitals.		26 Schools or Homes.		Combined total from 100 Institutions.					
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Total.			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
£50 and over ...	10	—	65	1	29	7	38	25	142	24.0	33	2.1	175	8.1
£40—49 .. .. .	1	—	34	2	19	20	3	6	57	9.6	28	1.8	85	3.9
£35—39 . . . . .	2	1	7	32	85	3	3	10	97	16.4	46	2.9	143	6.6
£30—34 .. . . .	139	24	53	11	—	—	—	14	192	32.4	49	3.1	241	11.1
£25—29 .. . . .	28	27	8	9	—	14	—	25	36	6.0	75	4.8	111	5.1
£20—24 .. . . .	20	56	6	9	—	145	2	48	28	4.7	258	16.5	286	13.2
£15—19 .. . . .	11	228	1	58	—	472	1	50	13	2.2	808	51.5	821	38.1
£10—14 .. . . .	22	190	—	38	—	—	2	27	24	4.0	255	16.2	279	13.0
Under £10 .. . .	4	4	—	6	—	—	—	7	4	.7	17	1.1	21	.9
	237	530	174	166	133	661	49	212	593	100	1569	100	2162	100

Of those employed in the hospitals of which particulars are given above, 134 males and 454 females get full board, lodging, and washing, the large majority also being

provided with uniform. Twenty-five males and thirty females get nothing besides their wages; but the rest all have either meals, apartments, or uniform. In the infirmaries forty-three men and 106 women are provided with rations, lodging, washing, and uniform; twelve males and twenty-two females get board and lodging; 105 men and thirty-eight women have allowances of a partial character, and there are only fourteen (all men) who receive no extras. With hardly any exceptions "all found" is the rule with everybody employed in the fever hospitals, whilst in schools and homes it is the very general custom to give board and lodging.

Our table does not include scrubbers or laundry hands, whose conditions of service are usually quite distinct from those of the rest of the staff, and who are, as a rule, returned by the census with charwomen and washer-women (See Part II., Chapter II.).

# CHAPTER II.

## EXTRA SERVICE. (Section 88.)

### Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.					Enumerated by Families.					
Census Divisions, 1891.	Females.		Males.		Total.	Sex .....	Males .....		Birthplace	Industrial Status ..
	20	20	19	20			55	9334		
(1) Office-keeper (not Govern- ment) .....	53	4961	30	2237	1018	In London ... 51½ %		20,452		
(2) Charwoman	497	22380	—	—	22877	Out of London.. 48½ %		19,216		
(3) Washing and bathing ser- vice .....	6406	44522	412	2137	616	Employer .....		10 %		
(4) Wig-maker & hair-dresser	136	385	1164	3975	342	Employed .....		70 %		
(5) Chimney sw'p	2	35	126	1340	152	Neither .....		20 %		
TOTAL.....					7184	72283	1732	9689	21286	

Although, as with the whole occupied population, the maximum number of males engaged in this section is reached at 20 to 25 years of age, there is a deficiency at all ages below 40, and a marked excess of elderly men. (See diagram.) Males, however, form quite a small proportion of those belonging to the section.

DISTRIBUTION.				
E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
12,065	20,425	31,046	29,480	93,016

DETAILS OF OCCUPATIONS  
(FROM THE CENSUS DICTIONARY.)

(1) Keeper or caretaker of assembly rooms, commercial rooms, lecture halls, public rooms or offices; doorkeeper, janitor.	(2) Office, house, church, school, or bank cleaner.	(3) Baths and washhouse superintendent, keeper, attendant; swimming master or mistress; laundress, starcher, ironer, shirt and collar dresser.	(4) Artist in hair, barber, coiffeur; frizette hair pad, hair roller maker.	(5) Chimney or flue cleaner; soot merchant.
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Enumerated by Families.						
Sex .....	Males .....	Females .....	Birthplace	Industrial Status ..		
Males .....	9334	30,334	In London ... 51½ %	20,452		
	30,334		Out of London.. 48½ %	19,216		
Employer .....	10 %	3832	Heads of Families, 30,668.	Employed .....	70 %	27,922
	Neither .....	20 %			7914	

TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.					
Total ...	Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total.
30,668	42,401	45,085	886	128130	
Average in family..	1	1·07	1·14	·02	3·23

CLASSIFICATION.

DISTRIBUTION.

For full details see Appendix A (Part II.).

Numbers living in Families.		%		East { Inner 15,021 Outer 4194 }	
3 or more to a room	22,777	17·9		19,215	
2 & under 3	28,895	22·6			
1 & under 2	39,797	31·0		North { Inner 7865 Outer 21,272 }	
Less than 1	—	—		29,187	
More than 4 rooms	34,697	27·1			
4 or more persons to a servant ..	—	—		West { Inner 4563 Outer 19,707 }	
Less than 4 to 1 servant and 4 or more to 2 servts.	917	0·7		24,270	
All others with 2 or more servants ..	161	0·1		Central Inner 14,823	
Servants .....	886	0·6		14,823	
	128,130	100		South- { Inner 3310 East { Outer 15,161 }	
				18,471	
				South- { Inner 9047 West { Outer 13,167 }	
				22,214	
				128,130	

Inner. Outer. Together.		
Crowded.. 49 %	34 %	40½ %
Not .. 51 %	66 %	59½ %

Inner 54,629, or 43 %  
Outer 73,501, or 57 %

## OFFICE-KEEPERS.

In the City of London, office-keepers—or, as they are usually termed, house-keepers—form a considerable body, and are invariably men. The majority are retired soldiers, sailors, or gentlemen's servants, and almost without exception they are married. Rooms are provided for them at the top of one or other of the blocks of houses in their charge, and the engagement, which extends to both husband and wife, is either a monthly or a weekly one. After 8 o'clock in the evening and on Sundays these men with their wives and families are, together with the resident assistants in the large wholesale drapers' establishments, almost the only inhabitants of the "City"—the kernel of that square mile which we have always found to present such abnormal social conditions whenever we have come across it in our industrial inquiry.

Generally speaking, the duty of an office-keeper is to be always at hand when wanted, and to see that the stairs and offices of the houses under his superintendence are kept thoroughly clean. One man may have under him as few as six or as many as five hundred rooms. He may be the custodian of one large building belonging in its entirety to a bank or trading firm and perhaps occupied only by them, or he may be the keeper of one or two buildings containing the offices of many firms. By day he is to be found sitting in a small glass-windowed box, too small to be dignified by the name of office, situated near the street entrance or at the bottom of the main staircase. As a rule neither he nor his wife are able to cope with all the cleaning that is necessary, and employ porters to carry the coals and charwomen to scrub the floors and passages and to light the fires in the various offices. Charwomen come in the morning from 6 to 9, and then again in the evening from 5.30 or 6 to 9 or 10, and are paid

about 10s per week, though some have less (9s) and a few more (12s). Porters receive about 18s.

House-keepers are given their quarters and light free, and in addition are allowed either a fixed wage with a plus depending on the number of rooms cleaned and fires lighted by them, or have no wage but are allowed to charge the tenants for all the cleaning done and coals provided. Altogether their net income will range from £3 to £10 per week in a large house containing many firms. Very few make under 25s per week. Then, in addition, there is a substantial sum to be reckoned on in the form of tips at Christmas time, although it is complained that these have fallen off of late years.

A few office-keepers are obliged to retire at sixty years of age, but the majority are allowed to work as long as they can put one foot before the other, and keep on until they are seventy or eighty. The work, except for bank house-keepers, who are said to have the hardest posts and heavy weights (of gold) to lift, is not laborious and requires a power of management and supervision rather than any actual physical exertion. Perfect honesty and trustworthiness, it need hardly be said, are essential. The men are not organized in any way.

#### WASHING AND BATHING SERVICE.

Beyond the fact that in both cases water takes an important place in the work, there is nothing in common between those who are employed respectively in washing and bathing service; they are, however, grouped together in the census, and therefore cannot be separated by us for statistical purposes.

Of the two divisions washing is, from our point of view, far the more important, containing probably not less than five-sixths of the whole number enumerated in the section.

Excluding for the present a small number of other

workers, the employees in a laundry may be divided into the three large groups of washers, ironers, and packers and sorters. Amongst these groups there is no interchange of employment, except in small laundries.

Washers, as their name denotes, are engaged solely in the actual washing of clothes, whether by machine or hand. It may be stated, as a general rule, that in large laundries all clothes, with the exception of flannels, are now washed by machinery, the articles being placed in a sort of barrel, which revolves first one way and then the other. It is in the process of washing alone that male labour is extensively used in laundries; where machinery is in use, the washers are usually males, while, in hand laundries, men only are employed as dollymen, who punch or pound clothing in a large tub with a wooden instrument known as a dolly, and, judging from its name, possibly a substitute at some former time for female labour. All cleansing processes other than those performed by machinery or the dolly are still within the province of women. Male washers and dollymen are usually on weekly wages, and earn generally from 21s to 28s a week. The dollyman, in addition to his other labours, is often employed for a portion of the week as carman.

The recognized standing wage of female washers throughout London is 2s 6d a day; in all small laundries they expect in addition, and usually obtain, two half-pints of beer or an equivalent in money. In some few cases they may get more than 2s 6d; when engaged upon flannels or other articles requiring especial care, the wages rise to 2s 9d or 3s a day, and the copperwoman is in most laundries paid at the higher rate. We are told that women in some cases accept less than 2s 6d, but it is certainly very rare for them to do so.

In a few large laundries the work is of such a character and so organized that washing may be carried on for five days in the week, and in these cases women may earn at washing



from 12s 6d to 15s a week; in the vast majority of laundries, however, this work is confined to three or four days, and the earnings of washers will vary from 8s to 10s, though in busy times they may make a little more by working overtime, for which they are paid 3d per hour after 8 o'clock.

Ironers are from every point of view the most important members of the trade. Where machinery is used for washing, they form a very large proportion of the workers, while even in a hand laundry they outnumber the washers by about two to one. In addition to their numerical preponderance, they alone can claim to be skilled workers. Not that all ironing requires any large degree of skill; plain ironing, such as that required for linen aprons, pillow-slips, servants' dresses, &c., is easily and quickly learnt; the manipulation, however, of more important articles, such as table-linen, and especially of finery, shirts, and collars, requires not only natural aptitude for the work, but also a long period of teaching and experience. In small laundries the distinction between various classes of ironers is not always observed, and it is common to take on only good all-round hands, who are capable of doing any kind of work, but throughout the trade generally the women are divided into best ironers and plain ironers. Included under the former term are finery ironers (who are employed only on lace and other fancy articles) and shirt and collar ironers, while plain ironers do the common work which calls for little skill. Finery is always ironed by hand, and shirts nearly always, but in steam laundries collars, cuffs, and all other articles are ironed by machinery—collars by a small machine used for that purpose alone, and body and table linen by a large revolving cylinder known as a calender, which fulfils at the same time the duties of the hot iron and the mangle. It will be seen, therefore, that, with the exception of collars, all articles which require unusual care still depend on manual labour. A machine has been invented, and is, we believe, sometimes used, for

shirt ironing, but the opinion of those best able to judge is that it will never supersede the hand labour.

The earnings of ironers vary greatly according to the class of work on which they are engaged, and the number of days' employment which they obtain in a week, while they are also influenced largely by the prevalence in a laundry of day or piece-work. Day-work is probably still the general rule, but piece-work is becoming rapidly more common, and for best, if not also for plain ironers, seems likely to become universal. Finery ironers, whose work cannot from its nature be placed on a piece basis, are always paid by time, and earn generally from 3s to 4s a day, while other best ironers, if paid by the day, receive from 2s 9d to 3s 6d, 3s being the most common wage; when on piece-work the variation is very great, according to the skill and quickness of the worker. A really good hand can earn 5s a day or more, though our statistics show that those who do so are few.

Plain ironers on day-work are paid generally 2s 6d a day, though if young and inexperienced they may not get above 2s. On piece-work they probably earn more.

In estimating the weekly earnings of ironers, it should be remembered that except in large laundries they are not generally employed for more than four days a week; but even so, there is no question that on piece-work, at all events, skilled hands earn good wages, amounting sometimes to from 20s to 30s in a week.

The calenders are attended to nearly always by girls, who are paid from 4s to 18s a week according to their age. Those who feed the machine are older and more highly paid than those employed in "taking out."

Packers and sorters are socially of a higher class than other workers in the trade. While washers and ironers are addressed either by their Christian name or by the surname without any prefix, the packer is usually "Miss So-and-So"; in large laundries a separate mess-room, known as

the "Ladies' Dining Room," is generally set apart for this class of workers. This distinction is, no doubt, due to the fact that packing demands more intelligence and better education, besides greater deftness than other branches of laundry work. Packers and sorters are usually on weekly wages, which vary from 10*s* to 20*s*, according to their age and ability, though forewomen may earn up to 25*s*.

Some smaller classes of employees, who play a necessary part in laundry work, have yet to be referred to. Of these the most important are the preparer, the dryer, the folder, and the mangler.

The preparer is a link between the washer and the ironer ; it is her duty to starch, and in some cases to damp, articles before they are passed on to the ironer. When this work is not performed by the mistress of the establishment, the wages paid will vary from 16*s* to 24*s* a week.

The dryer is paid usually the same as the washer, viz. 2*s* 6*d* a day and (in small laundries) two half-pints of beer.

Folding is generally the work of girls, who receive from 1*s* 6*d* to 2*s* 2*d* a day.

The mangler is more often than not a male, and will get from 22*s* to 25*s* a week. Of those who are returned as manglers in the census, probably a large proportion are not employed in laundries, but are widows or other women who take in mangling at home. The earnings of such persons are obviously so varied that it is useless to try and compute them, but their usual charge to customers is 1½*d* a dozen articles, the maximum charge appearing to be 2*d*, and the minimum 1*d*.

To show in a more graphic manner the earnings of various classes among those already mentioned, we give here particulars of a busy and slack week in a large and a small steam laundry. For the large establishment we give a general statement showing the average earnings of women and girls ; for the small laundry we show the actual earnings of each individual worker :—

## LARGE LAUNDRY.

Busy Week.										Slack Week.									
WOMEN.	Number.	Average hours.	EARNINGS.						Number.	Average hours.	EARNINGS.								
			Maxi- mum.		Mini- mum.		Aver- age.				Maxi- mum.		Mini- mum.		Aver- age.				
			s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.			s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.			
Packers. Time*...	7	69	20	0	13	0	17	5	6	48½	19	0	12	0	14	4			
Markers. Time...	5	59	18	0	10	6	13	11	3	50	13	6	12	0	12	9			
Washers. Time...	4	65	18	5	17	9	18	1	4	50½	14	10	11	8	13	9			
Calenderers. Time	5	66½	20	0	16	8	17	10	5	42½	20	0	6	0	13	11			
Ironers. Time ...	3	67½	18	0	12	0	15	0	2	50	19	0	12	6	15	9			
Ironers. Piece ...	40†	68½	27	6	8	8	17	11	31	50	20	0	4	0	12	10			
GIRLS.																			
Packers. Time ...	3	65	10	0	5	0	7	0	2	47	6	0	5	6	5	9			
Markers. Time ...	7	65	9	2	6	0	7	3	7	47½	10	0	6	0	7	4			
Calenderers. Time	12	66½	18	11	6	0	9	8	10	52½	10	4	6	0	7	11			
Ironers. Piece ...	10	70	17	0	6	9	10	8	5	50	9	3	5	1	7	7			

## SMALL LAUNDRY.

Busy Week.					Slack Week.				
			Number of days worked.	Number of hours worked.	Earnings.				
					s. d.				s. d.
Ironer	A	Piece...	5	53	33 9½	—	—	—	—
	B	"	5	53	27 3	3	33	9	10
	C	"	5	53	20 5	2	22	5	7
	D	"	5	53	19 3	3	33	8	2
	E	"	5	53	18 8	2	22	5	0
	F	"	5	53	16 8	3	33	7	11
	G	"	4	42	16 1	—	—	—	—
	H	"	4	41	14 8	3	33	7	2
	I	"	3	35	7 9	—	—	—	—
	K	"	—	—	—	3	33	8	10
	L	"	—	—	—	3	33	6	8
Preparer.	Time...		6	60½	22 4	2	24	5	5
Dryer	"		5	53½	15 7	3	26	7	3
Washer	A	"	4	41	8 6	3	26	10	6
"	B§	"	2	24	4 0	2	22	3	1
Folder	A	"	5	58	16 7	2	22	3	7
"	B	"	4	51	10 5	1	11	2	7
Packer	A	"	—	—	22 0	—	—	22	0
"	B	"	—	—	16 0	—	—	16	0

\* A large majority of the time-workers were on weekly wages.

† Two others, who worked respectively 31 and 22 hours, earned 3s 11d and 5s 7d.

‡ This woman had a backer (*i.e.* a girl to help in the plain part of shirts and to whom she would pay ½d for each shirt) for one day in the week.

§ A girl.

It will be noticed that in the large laundry women of all classes were at work in the busy week for a greater number of hours than is now, under the Factory Act of 1895, legally allowable. In such a case as this, the effect of the Act has naturally been to reduce earnings, though at the laundry in question the best ironers have to some extent been compensated by a rise in the rates of pay for piece-work. However, in establishments where overtime was common in the busy season there will necessarily be a fall in the wages of individual workers.

The proprietor of a large hand laundry writes in June, 1896:—"I find in the first place that I require ten people under the Act in place of eight in 1895. Shirt ironers who earned 23s in 1895 are now earning 19s 3d for sixty hours and six hours' overtime. Washers in 1895 earned 17s 11d, and are now taking 15s 7d; manglers in 1895 earned 19s 2d, and are now earning 16s, and all workers in the same proportion. I have ninety-eight people doing exactly the same amount of work as last year, when seventy-two were employed. . . . Of course the working of the Act is quite in its infancy, but its present operation must bring a number of extra workers into the laundry trade, and it follows that in the slack season there will be very little work for each one when it is shared out."

In considering the conditions under which laundry work is carried on, it is necessary to bear in mind that the moment when we write (May, 1896) is a period of transition. The Factory Act of 1895, which came into force at the beginning of this year (1896) contains provisions for the regulation of the employment in laundries of women, young persons and children. Before the passing of this Act, it is certain that women in some cases suffered much from excessive hours of labour, and from insanitary conditions, of which the most prominent were great and unnecessary heat, and ill-drained floors in the wash-house.

In the matter of hours, the Act provides that "the period of employment, exclusive of meal hours and absence from work, shall not exceed: for children, ten hours; for young persons, twelve hours; for women, fourteen hours, in any consecutive twenty-four hours; nor a total for children of thirty hours, for young persons and women of sixty hours in any one week, in addition to such overtime as may be allowed in the case of women." The Act further provides that no child, young person or woman shall be employed continuously for more than five hours without an interval of at least half an hour for a meal.

Overtime is allowed for women, provided they do not work more than fourteen hours in any day. It may not exceed two hours in any day, and must be confined to three days in any week, and thirty days in any year. How far these provisions are strictly carried out it is as yet too early to say. It will be noticed that, adding an hour and a half for meals, the working day for a woman may still extend to fifteen and a half hours. No doubt, for certain workers, and especially for packers and sorters, the legal hours, both daily and weekly, were in certain laundries (and especially in large ones) sometimes exceeded before the passing of the Act, when all night working was not unknown, but the evidence goes to show that such cases were not frequent; that this is so is proved by the very general complaint on the part of women, that in this matter they are no better off under the Act than they were before. The truth, probably, is that washers have seldom exceeded the hours allowed by the Act; ironers in busy times, no doubt, have not unfrequently been employed more than fourteen hours a day, though less often more than sixty in a week; while packers and sorters, who begin first and finish last, have certainly frequently been obliged to work for a period which the law has now declared excessive, amounting to from sixty-five to seventy

hours a week. In their case it would be easy to arrange that no individual should be employed for more than sixty hours, for there is an interval between the sorting and the packing in most laundries when this work is slack, and arrangements could be made for the hands to stop away in turns. This arrangement, however, the inspectors refuse to sanction; they allow a laundry, for the purposes of the Act, to be divided into three departments, for washing, ironing, and packing and sorting respectively, but they insist that in each *department* the time worked for the week must not exceed the hours mentioned in the Act. Thus they hold that a master, though none of his employees exceed those hours, may still be violating the provisions of the Act. On this point there is a conflict of opinion between inspectors and employers, and the matter is likely to be decided eventually in a court of law.

Though, as we have said, it is doubtful if the majority of masters have often found it necessary to work their employees for hours exceeding those allowed by the Act, there is no doubt that for the most part they are strongly averse to interference with their power to do so on occasion. The public, they allege, are wholly inconsiderate of the convenience of the laundryman, and will, and in some cases must, have clothing returned within a specified time. In periods of stress, therefore, it has undoubtedly been convenient to work for long hours for one, or perhaps two, nights in the week; and unless the public change their habits, and by keeping an extra supply of linen, or by other means, are prepared to be less urgent in their demands, masters in many cases doubt their ability to comply with the legal requirements.

The worst stories of pressure and night-work in the reports of inspectors are connected with ships' washing, an enormous accumulation of linen having to be washed and returned during the few days which the vessel is allowed to remain in port. It is evident, however, that the main difficulty

arises from the division of our lives into weekly periods and the institution of the Sunday. Collected on Monday or Tuesday, the family washing must invariably be returned on Saturday, so as to be available for Sunday wear. It is this habit, so difficult to alter or vary, which causes the regular irregularity of laundry work—the pressure every Thursday and Friday. That this pressure has nothing really to do with urgency is shown by the fact that employment is most continuous in laundries which work for the large hotels. Visitors at hotels usually require their washing done in a great hurry, but whether for this, or for the linen belonging to the establishment, the week end is of no importance, and Sunday is but little considered.

It is to be hoped that the public will realize that the passing of the Act puts laundries in a difficult position, and will be induced to exercise greater patience than they have done in the past. Should they fail to do so, it is possible that masters may in some departments, in order to escape from the regulations of the Act, replace female by male labour. We know of one case where female packers have already been supplanted, but even here objections are felt to the practice, while in hand washing and ironing the likelihood of woman being driven out of her long-established position is exceedingly remote.

Another possible and most undesirable effect of the limitation of hours is that large laundries may in times of stress send work out to small cottage laundries, which are worked by “members of the same family dwelling there, or in which not more than two persons dwelling elsewhere are employed,” such laundries being excluded from the provisions of the Act. It is in these places that the conditions of employment are necessarily most insanitary, and in spite of the “poor widow” argument, it is a doubtful policy to encourage their perpetuation.

Though they dislike the legal limitation of hours, the larger employers generally raise no objection to the other



requirements of the Act ; these include provisions for the fencing of machinery, for regulating the temperature of every ironing room, for carrying away the steam in every washhouse, and for the separation of heating stoves from ironing-rooms ; the use of gas irons emitting noxious fumes is forbidden, and floors must be kept in good condition, and drained in such a manner as will allow the water to flow off freely. The enumeration of these points shows what are the chief ills from which, in the opinion of the legislature, laundresses have been proved to have suffered in the past. No doubt wet floors, and a stifling atmosphere laden with steam or gas, have been only too common, especially in small and medium-sized laundries, where the work is carried on in premises not specially built for the purpose. As we point out above, however, not a few of these places are exempt from inspection, and until they, too, are brought under control, many laundresses will still probably continue to work under grossly insanitary conditions. Those conditions, however, could be greatly alleviated if local authorities enforced laws which have existed for many years. The matter is one in which there is a conflict of interests between the poor woman who takes in a bit of washing (but who, nevertheless, may employ other women presumably poorer than herself) and the public. It is obviously undesirable that washing should be carried on in utterly unsuitable premises amid dirt, squalor, and possibly disease ; and at the cost of some temporary suffering it would perhaps be better that the small employer should be gradually driven either to accept service in large laundries, or to do her work in a Public Washhouse.

Nearly all laundries are busier in May, June, and July than at any other season of the year, while August and September, except for hotel work, are the slackest months, but the extent of the irregularity differs much in various laundries according to the character of the work. With a

high-class trade the falling off in August is very marked, as our figures for busy and slack weeks show, but where the bulk of the customers belong to a class whose holidays are short, the irregularity is not great. In both cases it is rarely the custom to dismiss employees; work is, as far as possible, divided equally amongst them in slack times, and each worker is occupied both for fewer days and shorter hours. The statistics we have already given show the difference in earnings in a large and small steam laundry; in a small hand laundry, where we inspected the wage books, we found that ironers in May were earning from 17*s* to 22*s* at piece-work; in August (1895) they earned from 12*s* 2*d* to 12*s* 6*d*, while in September of the same year they averaged about 15*s*. Some women, however, when they find work getting slack migrate to seaside laundries, where the demand for workers varies inversely to that of London.

Though packing, no doubt, requires intelligence and practice, ironing is, as we have already stated, the only branch of the trade which can fairly be called skilled. In this, apprenticeship is certainly unusual, though at the moment there is perhaps a tendency to its revival. Where it exists the period of apprenticeship is short, amounting, as a rule, only to two or three months. The girls are placed generally under an ironer, who receives anything which they may earn while under her instruction. That some systematic teaching is much wanted is certain. Masters, with few exceptions, complain of the difficulty of getting skilled hands, and at no time does a really good ironer experience any trouble in finding work. Indeed, the ease with which throughout the trade (but especially in ironing) employment can be obtained tends to make laundresses as a class extraordinarily independent, and masters complain bitterly, and probably with some justice, of their unpunctuality and irregularity. But though these failings are due in part to the knowledge that if one laundry dismisses

them another will at once open its doors, yet there are other contributory causes. It must be borne in mind that the laundry is the great resort of married women and widows who work; many of these have household and domestic duties to attend to, which make it difficult for them to be regular or punctual.

The large proportion of married women among laundresses is an unpleasant fact; many of them work only when their husbands are unemployed; others all the year round, to supplement the insufficient earnings of the head of the family; while no small number, we fear, almost entirely support an idle and probably drunken husband and a family of children. In certain districts the "laundress's husband" is said to be almost a recognized profession.

Laundresses as a class have gained an evil reputation—not, perhaps, altogether undeserved—for drinking habits. There are, however, excuses to be made for them: their work is exceedingly hot and exhausting; liquid refreshment of some sort is a necessity, and the only hope is that with better education and less insanitary working places, they may be gradually induced to substitute something less injurious for part, at all events, of the alcohol which they now consume. Drinking would certainly be diminished by the dropping of the pernicious custom of part payment in beer; while improvement would follow if wages were paid weekly instead of daily, as is the usual custom.

In spite of the evil conditions under which many of them work, laundresses generally are healthy in appearance; statistics, however, show that they are abnormally subject to consumption and rheumatism. How far this is due to causes inseparable from the work, how far to such as adequate control may remove, it is impossible as yet to say; but it is certain that few factories or workshops look pleasanter to work in, or are apparently more sanitary, than a properly constructed laundry. It is alleged by close observers of the trade that men, for some reason, suffer

more than women from working in washhouses, and it may be hoped that women will never be ousted from work which has been theirs from time immemorial.

*Organization.*—Besides the National Laundry Association, a body which is not well supported by the trade, there are several associations of masters in London or its suburbs. Among these are the Western District Laundry Association and Associations at Willesden and Acton, but none of them seem to meet with much success. A new society called the United Kingdom Laundry Proprietors' Society has just been started, chiefly to watch the operation of the Factory Act, and seems likely to be more generally supported.

The workers are at present without any organization. In 1890, when there was an active agitation for the inclusion of laundries under the Factory Acts, a Laundresses' Union was formed with nine branches, and a large number of women joined. It was not, however, successful; the members gradually dropped off, and in 1894 the Union became extinct. The general opinion is that laundresses are not yet educated up to such a point as would enable them to organize with success.

### *Bathing Service.*

Of those who are engaged in the Bathing Service of London a large majority are employed in the Public Baths and Washhouses. Here, again, as in Municipal Labour, and from the same cause, we find a wide range of wage and hours for identical duties.

The offices of superintendent and matron are always given to a man and wife, who are paid a joint salary (with house), ranging from £104 to £170.

Male bath attendants receive from 21s to 25s, and in one case, 28s a week. Female bath and washhouse attendants are paid from 12s to 21s, but few less than 16s, while only in one case do the wages exceed 18s.

Males in the towel laundry receive from 20s to 28s; females from 14s to 18s.

In addition to their wages bath attendants make a considerable sum from tips, which are in nearly every case strictly forbidden. The amount received from this source varies much, no doubt, according to the district where the bath is situated, but ranges from 10s to 20s a week. Attendants in the private baths receive more than those in the swimming baths.

Though their duties are light and easy, the hours of bath attendants are generally long, amounting frequently to fifteen a day in summer and twelve in winter, meals generally being taken on the premises. At one bath (Battersea), however, an eight-hours' day is worked, and in this case, in addition to the shorter hours, the wages both for men and women are considerably higher than elsewhere.

It is said that the long hours are never a matter of complaint, as a short day means a smaller revenue in tips. Whatever the hours, a large part of the time is necessarily spent in idleness, as only at certain periods in the day is there any press of work. In spite of all absence of discontent on the part of the workers, the authorities generally are nervous lest the progressive parties on public bodies should make a demand that all baths should adopt shorter hours, which would in most cases involve two shifts, and the payment of a double staff. The matter is interesting as raising the question how far the nature of a man's duties should be considered in fixing his hours of work.

Most baths have to dismiss a portion of their staff in the winter, but in some cases they are kept on to do painting and other odd jobs.

*Turkish Baths.*—More interesting, though smaller in number, are the attendants in Turkish baths. Of these the most important are the shampooers, whose duty it is to rub, soap, and douche bathers after they have perspired

sufficiently. The wages paid to a shampooer range from 20s to 30s, but only foremen get over 25s. The wages, however, form but a small part of a shampooer's earnings, which are largely augmented by tips. Customers, with few exceptions, give from 6d to 1s to the men who operate on them; at the end of the week these tips are pooled, and divided equally among the men. The amount received varies of course, to some extent, according to the position of the bath, but it is safe to say that in the West End men make 40s or 50s a week from this source, while in other quarters 35s would be a fair average, for wherever a bath is situated it is frequented only by those who can afford to pay for a luxury. It will be seen, then, that shampooers earn high sums ranging from £3 to £4. 10s a week (increased in a few cases by private massage work), nor can it be justly said that they have to work unduly hard for their money. The hours actually on duty (including Sunday in some cases) vary from fifty-four to about seventy-two per week, but for the greater part of this time they are not really at work. At the largest bath in London the average hours of actual labour for each man (allowing twenty minutes for each bather) have been worked out for years, and they range in various years from two hours and forty minutes to three hours and forty minutes a day. As few bathers are so much as twenty minutes under the shampooer's hands this is obviously an outside estimate. The enforced idleness for a large part of the day is in every way detrimental to the men, but there is a difficulty in working in shifts, as *habitués* of a bath prefer always to have the same shampooer.

Turkish baths are slack during August and September, and in those months men are generally allowed a fortnight's holiday.

In spite of the great heat, work in a Turkish bath is found to be healthy, and men are able to continue as shampooers till late in life. They seldom, however, seem

to lay by anything for their old age, and have the reputation of being thriftless and improvident, a failing due, perhaps, partly to the fact that they are in constant intercourse with men who are for the most part wealthy, and whose conversation is likely to suggest expensive wants.

Shampooers had at one time an evil reputation for drink, and are still said to consume an excessive quantity of beer. All, however, who have had a Turkish bath will know that it promotes an abnormal thirst.

The business of Turkish baths in London has for some years been declining, and especially on Sundays. This is due partly to the building of baths at Brighton and other seaside resorts, but still more to the increasing tendency to an exodus from town at the week end, and to the superior attraction of golf and cycling.

#### CHARWOMEN.

The recognized rate of pay for a charwoman is 2s or 2s 6d a day ; probably only a minority work for six days in the week, but from the nature of the case we have not been able to make inquiries which would enable us to determine what proportion have anything like constant work. Probably the largest employer of charwomen is the Government—as many as 130 being employed in one office alone ; in this case they are paid 12s a week, while in other offices the wages range from 10s to 15s ; the vast majority, however, are paid either 12s or 14s. Akin to Government charwomen are the large number who work in hospitals and dispensaries and in offices in the City and elsewhere ; they, too, are for the most part permanently employed at wages within the same or a slightly lower range. We have a return for almost eight hundred employed by hospitals and dispensaries, and though there is great diversity in their method of payment, this return

shows that the rate of pay is from *1s 9d* to *2s 6d* a day. Where women are paid at the lower rate certain meals are usually given; at the higher rate there are seldom any allowances. A considerable number of women are employed in hospitals for five hours, or half a day, at *1s 6d*. Where, as in a few cases, they are employed by the hour, the pay is usually at the rate of *3d* per hour, though in one case we find a record of thirty-one women at *2d* per hour. The charwoman who depends on private employers is no doubt in a more precarious position, and may consider herself lucky if she obtains two or three days' work in the week; but though her earnings are smaller she is compensated to some extent by a saving of household expenses, for in her case food is always provided during the hours of work.

#### HAIR-DRESSERS AND WIG-MAKERS.

Few trades are of greater antiquity than that of the barber; even in the Old Testament we find an allusion to the barber's razor. A history of the craft from those early days down to the present time would be full of interest, and would show social and financial changes and vicissitudes such as would scarcely be paralleled in any other trade, for in none other probably has fashion been more capricious, and as it has decreed that men should wear beards or wigs, or that women should be simply or elaborately adorned, so must the business of the hair-dresser and the barber have been subject to constant change involving alternate prosperity and depression. In England, however, and other European countries, the barber has not always depended for his livelihood on the exercise only of his legitimate craft; for many years he combined with it the practice of the art of surgery. Until the twelfth century men who were sick, whether in body or in mind, generally sought the aid of the clergy, to whom the exercise of the



medical and surgical art was almost entirely confined; but in 1163 a Council of the Church, on the ground that the shedding of blood was incompatible with their sacred office, ordered them for the future to confine their operations to the administration of drugs. Up to this period barbers had generally been the assistants of the clergy; but the Edict of Tours gave them the opportunity of practising surgery on their own account, and from this time they became generally known as barber surgeons. That early in the fourteenth century the two crafts were frequently, if not universally combined in London, is certain: about that date the following quaint ordinance forbade barbers to advertise their connection with the higher art in a certain offensive manner:—"De Barbours. Et que nul barbier ne soit si ose ne si hardy qil mette sank en leur fenestres en apiert ou en vieu des gentz, mais pryvement le facent portir a Thamise, sur peine des doux souldz rendre al oeps des Viscounty."\*

As early as 1308 the barbers of London had formed a guild or company composed of two classes, those who practised barbering proper (including, probably, blood-letting and tooth-drawing), and those who, in addition, "exercised the faculty of surgery." In the year 1462 the Company of Barber Surgeons received a charter of incorporation; in the year 1540 a fresh charter was granted, and the title changed to "Company of Barbers and Surgeons," and at the same time the practitioners of "barbari" were restricted to the drawing of teeth; finally, in 1745, the alliance was dissolved by Act of Parliament.

In attempting to give some account of the present condition of the trade it is necessary to emphasize the fact that though all its members are now very generally spoken of

\* Of Barbers. Let no barber be so daring or so hardy as to put blood in his windows openly or in view of people, but let him have it privily carried to the Thames on pain of paying twopence to the use of the Sheriff.

as hair-dressers, that term is, perhaps, in the majority of cases, a misnomer; for our purposes, at all events, it will be more convenient to confine it to dressers of ladies' hair, who, both financially and socially, have little in common with those who in the trade are generally known as "gentlemen's hands," but to whom we shall throughout this chapter refer as barbers. Many boys, no doubt, gain their first experience of the trade in barbers' shops, and are sufficiently ambitious to pass on to the higher branch, which may not unfairly be classed as an art; for without the deftness, if not the imagination of an artist, success in it is not likely to be attained. But at an early age each man becomes permanently fixed in one branch or the other, and so sharp henceforth is the dividing line between the two that we shall find it necessary, on most of the points with which we are concerned, to deal with them separately.

### *Hair-dressers.*

*Wages.*—Hair-dressers differ so greatly in skill and experience that their range of wages is naturally very great, probably from 20s to £6 a week, living on the premises; the lower sum would, however, only be paid to one who had advanced but a short way in his art, while none but highly skilled dressers of great experience would earn the larger wage. The usual remuneration for a man of average ability is from 30s to 40s. Ladies, we are told, seldom give way to the male vice of tipping, so that those who attend to them do not augment their wages from this source; but commissions on orders for artificial hair, washes, and other goods are a source of some small additional income.

*Hours.*—The hours of a hair-dresser are generally from 9 A.M. to 8 P.M., or in some cases 7 P.M.; but not infrequently he has to work after the shop is closed, especially in the season of fancy-dress balls, when he is often called

on to prepare a dressing at the residence of a customer. The hair-dresser's shop is never open on Sundays, but assistants often take private engagements on that day.

*Method of learning.*—Almost for the first time in the course of this inquiry we find a trade in which apprenticeship is the rule rather than the exception. But so difficult is the art of hair-dressing that apprenticeship alone would be quite inadequate as an introduction to its mysteries, and proficiency can scarcely be attained without attendance at the classes for technical instruction instituted by some of the many hair-dressers' societies of London. Of these classes the best known are those of the Club de la Société du Progrès de la Coiffure, the Académie Internationale de Coiffure, and the International Hair-dressers' Society. Each of these societies has a school meeting in the evening, three or four times a month, open to members of the society without further payment than the ordinary annual subscription, ranging from 5s to 10s 6d. The students are divided into two or more classes, the higher of which are taught by professors elected from the society, and the lower by members of the first class. Students can at any time pass from class to class on giving proof of their proficiency, and on passing into the first class they receive a diploma or certificate. Competitions, too, are frequently held, at which prizes and medals are awarded to the successful competitors. The teaching at these various schools is said to be good, and that they should have existed during a period when technical education was at a discount, certainly speaks well for the energy of hair-dressers, and for their pride in their calling.

### *Barbers.*

The earnings of barbers vary greatly according to the class of trade in which they are engaged. In the City and West End they usually live off the premises, and are paid

from 21s to 30s a week, but in addition to this they earn in tips a considerable sum, varying probably from 10s to 18s. The majority, however, of London barbers are, no doubt, engaged in shops of a lower class, where the charge for hair-cutting is 2d or 3d, and for shaving 1d or 1½d. In such shops the wages of an assistant who lives in, as most seem to do, range from 6s to 14s; few, even if quite inexperienced, earn so little as the former sum, but a young man of from twenty to twenty-five will often be content with 9s or 10s, while 12s is a very common wage. For those who live out the wages range from 21s to 30s, and for an experienced hand 28s is fair payment. In this class of trade the amount received in tips is small.

In shops of every class men have to buy aprons and tools, and in some cases jackets.

As we shall show in dealing with the question of regularity, there are a large number of barbers who are employed only on Saturdays and Sundays. The usual wage for this week-end employment is 8s and board. In the City barbers frequently work only for part of the day, from 10 A.M. to 4 or 5 P.M. In such cases they not uncommonly combine some other employment (*e.g.* some agency) with their regular trade.

*Hours.*—The hours of barbers in good trade are little if at all longer than those of other shop assistants throughout the City and West End; they are generally from 9 to 8, and allowing one hour a day for meals (which, however, are always liable to interruption), they amount to sixty a week. In small shops, however, the men are on duty for a number of hours, which, owing to the universal Sunday opening, is surpassed in few trades. The time of opening is usually 8, that of closing varies from 9 to 10.30 on the first five days of the week, and to 11.30 or 12 on Saturdays; on Sundays the hours are from 8 or 9 to 1 or 2; the total hours for the week, therefore, vary from eighty to ninety-four. For a large part of the day, no doubt, the

men are in idleness, and at no time can their work be considered of an exhausting nature, but the fact remains that the actual hours of duty are unduly long, and place the barber in a position even more unenviable than that of the shop assistant.

The question of Sunday opening has always been a difficulty in the trade, and in spite of laws civil and ecclesiastical barbers have from a very early period been persistent Sabbath breakers. In 1413, the Archbishop of Canterbury wrote that "in their blindness they keep their houses and shops patent and open on the seventh day, the Lord's Day namely, and do follow their craft on the same just in the same way as on any day of the week," and threatens contumacious barbers with the greater excommunication. To this he adds a quaint appeal to the secular arm, "dearest children," he says, "seeing that so greatly has the malice of men increased in these days, a thing to be deplored, that temporal punishment is held more in dread than clerical, and that which touches the body and purse more than that which kills the soul, we do heartily intreat you, and for the love of God and of His law do require and exhort you that taking council thereon, you will enact and ordain a competent penalty in money upon the barbers within the liberty of your city aforesaid, who shall be transgressors in this respect." But beards will grow after 12 o'clock on Saturday night, and the working-classes continue to find Sunday morning a convenient time for being shaved, so that nothing short of compulsory closing would suffice to break the habit. Such compulsion the hair-dressers' guild is even now endeavouring to apply, but we may doubt whether a custom which withstood legal prosecution for some hundreds of years, and which is a natural result of the barbers dependence for employment on the leisure of the rest of the community, is likely to fall into disuse without sterner methods of repression than are likely to be employed by the average magistrate.

*Regularity.*—High-class trade, even if affected to some extent by seasons, is not sufficiently so to lead to any discharge of hands; but in small shops not only is there, as we have noticed above, a weekly period of pressure; but there is always an additional need for labour in the summer. The weekly demand for extra hands necessitates the existence of a number of barbers who have only two days' work in the week. How large is this class may be judged from the fact that the keeper of one "House of Call" for members of the trade, frequently sends out seventy or eighty men on Saturday morning, and there are several agencies of a similar character in London, while some, no doubt, secure temporary jobs without the intervention of an agent. What these men do during the remainder of the week is not easy to say; some of them are said to live in common lodging-houses, and to scrape along somehow on the 8s which they are paid for the job; some probably "do a bit of dealing," while others, no doubt, live partly on the earnings of wives or children. The evidence of one who knows well these luckless barbers is to the effect that, with very few exceptions, they are either indifferent workmen (possibly good shavers but bad hair-cutters, or *vice versâ*) or addicted to drink. This, we are well aware, is an accusation made against the luckless in all trades; but there are reasons for supposing that with barbers, at all events, it is generally true.

Apprenticeship, though not so universal as amongst hair-dressers, seems still to be usual, and it is one of the trades to which lads from the workhouse are still frequently sent with a small premium. It is, however, becoming more common for boys to enter without being apprenticed. Whether apprenticed or not, it is desirable (from his point of view) that a boy should gain his first experience in a penny shaving shop; the working man, apparently, especially on Saturday afternoon and evening, will submit patiently to the ministrations of the veriest

novice, but customers of a higher class fight shy of an inexperienced hand.

Both hair-dressers and barbers experience the greatest difficulty in obtaining work after early middle life. With the former this is due to the usual cause among shop assistants of any kind, the alleged preference of customers for smart-looking young men. With barbers there is the added cause that an elderly man is certainly less efficient, especially in the operation of shaving, when both eye and hand are apt to fail him. Many, no doubt, set up for themselves and become the employer of young men before the period of decadence sets in; some drift into the ranks of the temporarily employed, while others who have learnt the accomplishment may earn small sums in the practice of "board-work," *i.e.* the making up of artificial hair.

Beyond the long hours of confinement there is no apparent reason for abnormal ill-health in this trade, but hair-dressers present an unusually high rate of mortality, for which no sufficient explanation offers itself.

Both among hair-dressers and barbers the proportion of foreigners is very large. An examination of Kelly's Directory for 1896 shows that of 1696 master hair-dressers there enumerated, 518 or  $30\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. are obviously foreigners. Among employees the proportion would probably be larger, as the number of foreigners, and Germans especially, who affect this trade is constantly increasing. No doubt the majority of them are barbers rather than hair-dressers, but our evidence goes to show that, even if not as good barbers as the English (and as to this there is some difference of opinion), they have the reputation of being more industrious, more cleanly, and more sober, and for these reasons even many English masters prefer them. In hair-dressing, no doubt, they are inferior to the French colonists, but this inferiority they share with our own countrymen. The German hair-dressers and barbers are exceedingly clannish, and have two clubs,

one of an imposing character in Fitzroy Square, the other, much humbler, in Houndsditch.

### *Wig-makers.*

Wig-makers are of three classes: (1) Makers of wigs for daily wear, known as "street work"; (2) Theatrical wig-makers and (3) Legal wig-makers.

The demand for street work is not large, and this branch of the trade is practised only by a small number of men, who are for the most part in the employ of hair-dressers or barbers. A wig or toupet (*i.e.* a scalp covering, sometimes called a scalpette) is the work of two people, the "mounter" who makes the hair or net basis on which the hair is fixed, and the "knotter" who knots each individual hair to this base. Mounting is always the work of men. A mounter who is in the permanent employment of a hair-dresser is paid about 40s a week; but few masters have sufficient demand for wigs to necessitate the keeping of a mounter, and probably the majority of them work by the piece for many masters, earning, perhaps, up to £5 a week. Knotting is done only by women; it is paid by the piece, usually at the rate of 3d the square inch. It requires much skill and care, and good knotters earn from 14s to 24s a week, though only quick workers can earn so much as the larger sum. Owing to the exceeding minuteness of the work it can only be done in a strong light, and is most trying to the eyes, not unfrequently leading to blindness.

*Theatrical wig-making* is the branch of the trade in which the largest number of hands are employed. With the exception of a few wigs for leading actors and actresses the actual work of making is confined entirely to women. The best wigs are made by the knotting process, but they require less skill and care than street wigs; wigs of a lower class are made by weaving hair on to lengths of cotton,



which are sewn on to net. Both knotters and weavers work by the piece, and earn from 7s to 14s a week, according to the pace at which they work. The trade is very largely seasonal; the busiest time is the few months before Christmas when preparations for the pantomimes necessitate working at very high pressure, and lead to much overtime, sometimes we fear in disregard of the requirements of the Factory Acts. There is a second busy season in the summer in preparation for the numerous touring companies which start about the beginning of August. Some of the girls, when not employed in wig-making, are said to act as dressers or in other humble capacities about the theatres.

Of Legal wig-makers we have been able to obtain no particulars.

### *Organization.*

Hair-dressers' trade journals complain, perhaps with justice, that the trade suffers from a plethora of societies; throughout the country there are said to be nearly fifty, and in London alone there are eight or nine. A master, who does not believe in the value of organization, alleges that they consist for the most part of "seven men and a boy." And though this is hyperbolic, the fact remains that one or two large societies would probably meet with better support than a great number of societies which are more likely to breed division than unity. The only society which appears to be limited to masters is the German United Master Hair-dressers' Society. Confined to men only is the Journeymen Hair-dressers' Trade Society, founded in 1839, and enrolled in 1844. The membership is 160. This society "disclaims all ideas at combination, or of attempting anything injurious to the interest of their employers," and is really little more than a benefit club. The entrance fees vary from 2s 6d to 15s, and the

contribution is 1s 6d a month. Out-of-work and funeral benefits are given.

Of societies open, at least nominally, both to masters and men, there are:—

(1) The Hair-dressers' Guild, founded in 1882, open to hair-dressers, wig-makers, perfumers and kindred trades. The entrance fee is 5s, and subscription 10s 6d. The guild contains 262 members, of whom about 110 are in London. Though nominally open to journeymen, we believe that none have joined in London.

(2) Le Club de la Société du Progrès de la Coiffure, founded in 1863. The objects of this society are, "to propagate the art of hair-dressing, to give advice to foreign hair-dressers coming to England, to offer them a pleasant and useful meeting place, to serve as an intermediary between the employers and workmen in search of situations." The entrance fee is 2s 6d, and subscription 10s 6d. Including honorary members, there are about 315 members in all. This society was of French origin, and all business is still transacted in French, but of the members, probably not more than half belong to that nation, though still the vast majority are foreigners.

(3) Académie Internationale de Coiffure, founded in 1884, mainly with the object of teaching hair-dressing. The membership is 250. In spite of its name this society is, we believe, of English origin and constitution. The subscription for active members is 5s a year.

(4) The International Hair-dressers' Society, founded in 1893, consists of all members of the Harmony Club (a "social club" founded mainly for members of the trade) who are hair-dressers, about 400 in all. The entrance fee is 2s 6d, and subscription 10s 6d. The society, we believe, is almost entirely in German hands.

(5) The United Hair-dressers' Early Closing Association.

Of Benevolent Societies there are: The British Hair-dressers' Benevolent and Provident Institution, the

Hair-dressers' Orphan Fund, the Perfumers' Philanthropic Society, and *Le Solidarité du Progrès de la Coiffure*.

### CHIMNEY SWEEPS.

Considering their numerical insignificance and the humble nature of their calling, chimney sweeps have received an extraordinarily large share of the attention of the legislature. Since 1788 there have been no less than six Acts of Parliament dealing with the "trade, business or mystery of a chimney sweep," as in the first of these Acts it is somewhat quaintly called. This legislative activity has been directed chiefly towards curbing and finally abolishing the "various complicated miseries to which boys employed in climbing and cleaning of chimneys are liable, beyond any other employment whatsoever in which boys of tender age are engaged." How tender was the age may be gathered from the fact that the Act of 1788, from which these words are quoted, permitted the apprenticing to the trade of boys over eight years of age. Fearful and appalling as was the inhumanity practised towards these wretched children, legislative interference in their behalf seems to have been in advance of public opinion, for as late as 1819 boys of four, five, and six were still climbing chimneys, and we doubt if there is in the industrial history of England any chapter more shameful than that which deals with their miseries. To those who do not shrink from sickening details, and who wish to realize the atrocities which may be tolerated in a civilized country, we recommend the perusal of an article on the subject by Sydney Smith, published in the year 1819. Powerfully as public opinion must have been stirred on the matter, the progress of legislation was very slow; in 1834 the age of legal apprenticeship was raised to ten, and in 1840 to sixteen; in the latter year it was enacted that no person under twenty-one should climb a chimney. The law seems to have remained to a great

extent a dead letter; Kingsley's "Water Babies," to which in this connection our thoughts naturally turn, was published in 1863, and seems to show that the system of climbing boys was still agitating the public mind. Further legislation followed in 1864. How difficult it was to enforce the law may be judged from the wording of this Act, that "it shall not be lawful for a chimney sweep on any occasion of his entering a house or building for the purpose of sweeping any chimney therein to cause or knowingly allow a person under the age of sixteen in his employment or under his control to enter before with or after him into any part of such house or building or be therein for any part of the time during which such chimney sweep himself continues therein for any such purpose aforesaid." The stringency of this law, combined, no doubt, with a gradual change in the method of construction of chimneys, seems to have had the desired effect, and from about that time chimneys have been swept only by the machine brush or ramoneur. That master sweeps were, however, still regarded with suspicion is proved by the still operative prohibition of apprenticeship under sixteen, and by the provision of the Act of 1875 that any "chimney sweep who employs any journeyman, assistant or apprentice shall take out a certificate." The same Act, however, provides that a certificate shall not be necessary for a journeyman or assistant to a master "provided that such journeyman or assistant does not employ in chimney sweeping any other person as his paid assistant or apprentice." The result of this enactment is that the majority of sweeps are now neither employers nor employed, but work on their own account without taking out any certificate. The census gives the following figures:—employers, 277; employed, 569; neither employer nor employed, 656; and not stated, 116; we may assume, perhaps fairly, that those who are "not stated" work on their own account, and even so these figures still probably

understate the number of unattached sweeps, as many men who work as sweeps, at all events for part of the year, follow also some other occupation, and may not appear at all in this section. The President of the Master Chimney Sweeps' Protection Society expressed the opinion that not more than 10 per cent. of the trade are employed as journeymen.

Such journeymen as there are work almost entirely in the City and West End, where householders are accustomed to send for a sweep at the times when their chimneys require cleaning, while in poorer districts the occasion is seized some day when they hear the familiar cry in the street. The wages of journeymen range from 21s to 35s a week, though few rise above 27s. To estimate the earnings of the small masters, and those who work on their own account, is much more difficult. They are certainly small, and we doubt if throughout the year they average more than 15s or 16s a week. Indeed, those who attempt to support a family solely on their earnings from this occupation are few in number; for the most part they either have other sources of income or depend partly upon the earnings of wives or children.

*Hours, &c.*—The hours of a sweep are so various that it is impossible to compute them, but are not usually long. They begin early, and it is not uncommon for a man to finish work before breakfast, while in few cases do they continue after mid-day. In some cases, however, as with sweeps who are employed in cleaning the chimneys in City offices and other large buildings of a public or semi-public character, the men are frequently kept at work all night.

For about four months during the summer, business is almost at a standstill, and the only periods when work appears to be really brisk are about Christmas and during the spring cleaning. Unfortunately for the regular sweep a number of amateurs take the opportunity of the annual

revival of the trade to purchase or hire a brush, and perambulate the streets with their "sweep, sweep, sweep."

*Method of learning.*—Apprenticeship is said still to be common in the North of England, but in London it is almost or entirely unknown. As we have seen, no one may enter the trade under sixteen, and few do so at sixteen unless they have a family connection with the trade. It is not to be expected that the business should be popular, and it is recruited mainly from those who have tried and failed in some other occupation, or have lived a roving life in the streets until they are too old to settle down to any more eligible employment. Master sweeps allege, probably with truth, that even with the most modern flue some skill is required in the handling of the brush, and that the amateurs who flock into the trade at busy periods do their work most inefficiently. Even if the housewife superintended the operation she would, however, scarcely be qualified to judge as to the merits of the artist, for even the greatest bungler, we imagine, succeeds in dislodging a large amount of soot.

Statistics show that the mortality among sweeps is excessively high, and among the cause of death alcoholism holds an unusually high place. The disease, however, to which their excessive death rate is mainly attributed by statisticians is cancer, deaths among them from this terrible disease being stated by Dr. Arlidge to be eight times more numerous than among males generally. It is said to be due to the scratching in of soot under the skin. It is, however, only right to notice that, while admitting the prevalence of "sooty cancer" (as they call it) in the past, sweeps assert that it is now rapidly disappearing, owing to the fact that they are much more cleanly in their habits than was formerly the case. In olden days not only was a daily wash after work a rare occurrence, but some sweeps apparently never washed at all, while the boys habitually slept on the bags of soot which they had collected during

the day. Apart from its tendency to produce cancer, soot does not seem to exercise a prejudicial effect on the health, and large quantities of it may be swallowed with impunity, in fact, it is much less deleterious to the lungs than flour and other clean dusts.

*Habits of Sweeps.*—In spite of some strong and sincere assertions to the contrary we cannot but share the common opinion that sweeps as a class are greatly addicted to drink; not only do statistics show that their death rate from alcoholism is excessive, but the whole of their surroundings are such as must naturally lead to grave temptation in this respect. They are drawn usually from the lowest ranks of the social scale, they are as a rule illiterate, and there are few days when they do not have many hours of leisure, during which it must be exceedingly difficult to avoid spending much time in the public-house.

The occupation is one which few would willingly choose. But though those who follow it are perhaps on a somewhat lower moral plane than the bulk of the community, the sweep of to-day is certainly far removed from the filthy, drunken, inhuman devil whom Dickens and Kingsley have pictured for us in Gamfield and Grimes; the race of which such men were typical has gone never to return, and that they existed within the lifetime of the majority of our readers seems now scarcely credible.

*Position of the trade.*—In its palmiest days the business of the chimney sweep was not one in which large fortunes were made; except in rare instances masters have probably seldom risen financially above the level of a superior artisan; but at one time the master sweep was at least able to count on earning sufficient to place him well beyond the border line of poverty. But this is so no longer; the trade generally is in a decadent condition. Perhaps the chief cause of this decay is the influx during the busy seasons of amateur sweeps, to which we have already referred. Not only do men start in this way on their own account, but it

seems to be a practice among soot' merchants to lend brushes to men in the spring, when soot is most valuable, on condition that the soot is brought to them. Closely connected with this question of the amateur is the great grievance of the professional sweep, viz.: the solicitation of custom by calling in the streets. That this is a grievance of old standing is proved by a clause in the Act of 1834 that "It shall not be lawful for any master or mistress chimney sweep or for any journeyman, servant, or apprentice of any chimney sweep or for any person whomsoever acting as a chimney sweep to call or hawk the streets in any city, town or village or elsewhere for employment in his or her trade as a chimney sweep." This clause was, however, rejected by the Act of 1840, and from that time there has been constant agitation among sweeps to secure the legal prohibition of calling in the streets and knocking at doors to solicit employment. The desire, of course, of the established sweep is to force householders to send for him when they require his services, for as long as any man with a broom and strong lungs is able to secure a large number of casual jobs it is exceedingly difficult for the regular practitioners to establish a connection; people are almost certain to call in the services of the first man whose cry they hear.

The subject came before Parliament last in 1894, when an Act was passed forbidding sweeps to "knock at the houses from door to door, or ring a bell or use any noisy instrument"; the House of Lords, however, not unreasonably struck out a clause which aimed at the prohibition of calling.

But the competition of outsiders is not the only cause of the decay of the sweeps' trade; much work has left them owing to the great increase in the use of gas and oil stoves; while a heavy fall in the value of soot for manure has added to their difficulties. Nor does the sweep now combine carpet-beating with his other avocation, as numerous firms



have sprung up which devote themselves entirely to this branch of trade, and, no doubt, with their machinery do the work much more efficiently than it was done by the sweep armed with the primitive pole and stick.

*Organization.*—There is no organization among men, but the masters have the Master Chimney Sweeps' United Protection Society, which is said to contain about three hundred members in London.

## PART III.—THE “UNOCCUPIED” CLASSES.



# THE UNOCCUPIED. (Section 89.)

## Persons Represented.

Census Enumeration.						Enumerated by Families.					
Census Divisions, 1891.	Fe- males.	Males.			Total.	Sex .....	{ Males .....		Birthplace { In London... 43% 54,283 Out of London 57% 72,614	Heads of Families, 126,877.	
	All Ages.	19—	20—54	55—			{ Females .....	92,042			
(1) Retired from business	13532	19	3073	21985	38609	Industrial Status.. { Employer .... 1% 1110 Employed .... 2% 3119 Neither ..... 97% 122,648					
(2) Pensioner..	1041	2	915	2619	4577						
(3) Living on own means	73881	177	7075	9259	90392						
(4) Student (15 yrs. & over)	13952	8997	5208	5	28162						
TOTAL	102406	9195	16271	33368	161740						
(5) Others over 10 yrs.*	970050	180957	14962	6964	1171933						
COMBINED	1072456	190152	31233	39632	1333673						
						TOTAL POPULATION CONCERNED.					
							Heads of Families.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total.
Total ....							126,877	102,209	162,466	63,511	455063
Average in family ..							1	'81	1'28	'50	3'59

The diagram opposite is, as usual, for males only, and is based on the figures of the first total given above, thus omitting "Others over 10," who are mainly school children. The age line shows a slight excess between 15 and 20, caused by the inclusion of students. Otherwise the contrast between the ages of the occupied and unoccupied is very striking, the latter being mainly elderly men.

### DISTRIBUTION.

E.	N.	W. & C.	S.	Total.
299,147	316,880	206,368	511,278	1,333,673

### DETAILS OF OCCUPATIONS (FROM THE CENSUS DICTIONARY).

- Retired from business—not Army, Navy, Church, or medicine.
- Army, Navy, royal marines, civil service, police, or coast-guard pensioner.
- Annuitant, independent, capitalist, landowner, peer, fundholder, property owner.
- Agricultural, art, medical, law, or theological student. Students at training colleges, veterinary colleges, &c.
- Expert (undefined), landlady, landlord, foreign soldiers or sailors, lunatic, gipsy, pauper, foreign diplomatic service, patentee, M.P., ward in chancery, privy councillor, graduate, M.A., B.A., &c.; inmates of hospital, prison, refuge, &c., not returned to any occupation.

### CLASSIFICATION.

For full details see Appendix A (Part III.).

### DISTRIBUTION.

Numbers living in Families.		%		
3 or more to a room	20,843	4'8	East.. { Inner 34922 } 49228	
2 & under 3	44,713	9'9		
1 & under 2	92,070	20'2	North { Inner 21659 } 114505	
Less than 1				
More than 4 rooms	165,835	36'3	West { Inner 21596 } 113493	
4 or more persons to 1 servant..				
Less than 4 to 1 servant, and 4 or more to 2 servants.....	33,769	7'4	Central Inner 18589	18589
All others with 2 or more servants.....	34,322	7'6		
Servants .....	63,511	14'0	South- { Inner 10069 } 77959	
	455,063	100		
			South- { Inner 20486 } 82289	
			West { Outer 61803 } 62289	
				455,063
Inner. Outer. Together.				
Crowded..	28%	10%	14%	Inner 127,311, or 28%
Not ..	74%	90%	86%	Outer 327,752, or 72%

\* In the census, all children under 10 (numbering 955,782) have been excluded from the occupation returns, and so do not appear on the "Census Enumeration," side of these tables. In the "Enumeration by Families," however, such children are returned with the heads of families under the different occupations, excepting in so far as they appear here as part of the families of "unoccupied" adults, or are living in institutions, &c., the latter being included in Part IV. of this volume.

## THE "UNOCCUPIED" CLASSES.

In previous chapters of this Series, comprising Vols. I., II., and III., and the first two parts of the present volume, we have included, under various industrial headings, the members of every family of which the head claimed to be engaged in some occupation, calling, or pursuit. We have now to deal with the residue of the population, who may be conveniently divided into two groups:

(a) Families of which the head claims no occupation.

(b) Inmates of institutions, hotels, lodging-houses, &c.

The latter classes, omitted, for reasons already stated,\* from our family enumeration, are separately treated in Part IV. The heads of families in the former group, of which we must here attempt some analysis, are returned under various headings, such as Wife, Widow, Spinster, Single, Pensioner, Retired, Living on own Means, &c., and, with the members of their households, account in all for 455,000 individuals, of whom the customary particulars are given in the preceding tables of "Persons represented."

The medley is here very great, including some of the poorest as well as some of the richest of London's inhabitants. They are connected only in a negative way as being all alike outside of the classification by occupation. It does not follow that they do no work, but whatever it may be they do not claim any status from it.

In order to break up to some extent this incongruous mass we have selected twelve districts in different parts of London, and have scheduled the unoccupied heads of families in each, so as to show the constitution of the family and the manner of its existence as seen by the number of rooms occupied or the number of servants kept.

\* Vol. I. of this Series, p. 4—note.

The selected districts are :

Hampstead.....	}	North
Islington, S.-East.....		
Hackney.....	}	East
Mile End Old Town, Eastern		
St. Mary's, Paddington.....	}	West
Mayfair .....		
St. Peter's, Hammersmith ...	}	Central
Strand.....		
Plumstead, East .....	}	South-East
Lee .....		
Walworth .....	}	South-West
West Battersea .....		

These samples include 75,000 persons out of a total of 455,000, or 19,864 out of 126,877 families, and may be accepted as fairly representative.\*

The heads of these families returned themselves as under :—

	Heads of Families.			Whole Population.	
	Male.	Female.	Total.	No.	Per cent.
Means.....	2,066	7,459	9,525	34,791	46·4
Retired .....	1,871	388	2,259	8,951	11·9
Pensioner .....	377	81	458	1,447	2·0
Widow .....	—	3,878	3,878	14,761	19·7
Wife .....	—	1,834	1,834	7,496	10·0
Spinster.....	—	122	122	469	·6
Others .....	1,301	487	1,778	7,022	9·4
Total .....	5,615	14,249	19,864	74,937	100

If we multiply these figures by six we obtain approximately the numbers returned in each of the above classes for the whole of London. There will thus be about sixty thousand families living on their means and about fifteen thousand who declare themselves as retired or pensioners, and so on. But it is not to be supposed that these are all who might be most correctly described in these ways. In England men will almost always claim an occupation if

\* The sample of the unoccupied here dealt with shows rather less poverty than the whole group, having  $10\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of crowding as against  $14\frac{1}{2}$  on the whole,  $15\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of servants as compared to 14 per cent. a 25½ per cent. of persons served as against 22 per cent.

they can. The language contains no word answering to the French "Rentier," and the designation or description "living on own means" had to be expressly invented for the 1891 census. In this matter women still maintain a different standard of dignity to that of men, and thus of those who return themselves as living on their means more than three-fourths are females. Women of a poorer class, acting as heads of families, are generally returned as widows or wives. It is only with those in this section described as "retired," "pensioners" or "others" that the male sex predominates. Under the heading "others" the census includes a very motley crowd, consisting of paupers, vagrants and lunatics, as well as "foreign representatives" and those who may describe themselves under such titles as privy councillor, member of Parliament, university graduate, &c. With these we have placed those declared as "students" and "single men" who in the capacity of brothers or sons are enumerated as heads of families.

The average family under each heading is constituted as shown in the following table:—

COMPARATIVE TABLE I.—*Constitution of Families whose heads are "Unoccupied."*

Per Family.	Head.	Others Occupied.	Unoccupied.	Total of Family.	Servants.
Means .....	1·0	1·09	·80	2·89	·76
Retired .....	1·0	1·04	1·35	3·39	·57
Pensioner .....	1·0	·96	1·13	3·09	·08
Widow .....	1·0	·85	1·76	3·61	·20
Wife .....	1·0	·15	2·56	3·71	·37
Spinster .....	1·0	·2	1·42	2·44	1·42
Others .....	1·0	·68	1·73	3·41	·51
Average.....	1·0	·90	1·31	3·21	·59

The size of family is small throughout, being on the average fully one less than with the occupied classes. With widows and wives the number does not indeed differ at all from the average shown for other families with female

heads; but retired people and pensioners, those living on their means and spinsters, all show very small numbers, as certainly might be expected.

Where the head is returned simply as "wife" there are in the families a large proportion of unoccupied members—*i.e.* young children, and correspondingly few of "others occupied," *i.e.* children who are already at work. These women are the wives of soldiers or sailors, or of others who seek a living away from their home—mostly young men. On the other hand, with the older people, whether pensioners or retired, or living on their means, the number of the "other occupied members" is fully normal.

The average number of servants kept is far the greatest with "spinsters," being nearly  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per family, whilst, on the other hand, "pensioners" have hardly any servants. But the next table shows the social classification more completely:—

COMPARATIVE TABLE II.—*Social Conditions of Families whose heads are "Unoccupied."*

Classification of Families.	Means.	Retired.	Pensioner.	Widow.	Wife.	Spinster.	Others.	Total.
3 or more persons to a room .....	$1\frac{1}{2}$	1	2	5	$7\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{2}$
2 & under 3 " .....	$4\frac{1}{2}$	5	12	15	14	3	15	9
1 & under 2 " .....	$16\frac{1}{2}$	16	35	32	28	11	$20\frac{1}{2}$	22
Less than 1 " .....	$9\frac{1}{2}$	7	$11\frac{1}{2}$	$6\frac{1}{2}$	6	12	$6\frac{1}{2}$	8
More than 4 rooms .....	25	35	33	29	25	29	27	$27\frac{1}{2}$
4 or more to 1 servant.....	$11\frac{1}{2}$	12	3	5	7	4	7	9
Less than 4 to 1 servant.....	8	6	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$	8	3	5
4 or more to 2 servants .....	8	6	$\frac{1}{2}$	3	$3\frac{1}{2}$	7	$4\frac{1}{2}$	$5\frac{1}{2}$
All others with 2 or more servants	$15\frac{1}{2}$	12	$1\frac{1}{2}$	3	$6\frac{1}{2}$	$25\frac{1}{2}$	10	$10\frac{1}{2}$
Total .....	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Proportion of servants (per 100 of those served).....	62	47	36	43	49	107	61	57

"Spinster," with  $44\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the servant-keeping class and with more servants than there are persons served, with only 3 per cent. of ordinary crowded families and



practically no extreme crowding, stands out as the class in most affluent circumstances, but the numbers are not large. Under "means," which comes next in order, we find 43 per cent. of the servant-keeping class and 62 servants to each 100 persons served, whilst of crowding there is 6 per cent. Retired people are third in order of apparent comfort, and at the bottom of the scale are the widows and wives. The widows are on the whole the poorer of the two, though wives, including, no doubt, a number of deserted women, show the greatest percentage of extreme crowding. Pensioners occupy a medium position of fair comfort, but very little wealth; and those who figure under "others" exhibit an excess at the two extremes with a reduced percentage of the central class.

It is evident that uniform well-being is not to be found amongst the unoccupied any more than amongst the occupied classes. Some of our sections are without any rich people, but there is not one in which poor persons are not found.

If we further consider those who are returned as "living on own means" according as their homes are in different quarters of London we find most wealth, indeed, in the West, as there for every 100 persons in these families we count 43 servants, but the proportion of the servant-keeping class is fully as great in North and South-East London. Of crowding amongst these people there is most by far in Central London, and East and South-West London are about equal in the proportion found of those who, while living in apparent comfort, keep no servants. With retired persons it is much the same, but of pensioners there are hardly any who keep servants except in the Western districts, and elsewhere a large proportion are poor. Well-to-do widows are found as much in the North as in the West, but everywhere far the larger number live humbly, and in Central London no less than 42 per cent. are crowded in their homes, many doubtless being partly

employed in casual charring or other ill-paid domestic work, although they have not cared to so return themselves. They are to a great extent supported by charity. Spinsters follow comparatively the same rule of distribution as widows, the richest being in the West and North, and the poorest in the Central district, but of those wives who appear as the heads of families a much more even proportion of rich and poor is to be found in all districts. Amongst those included under the heading of "others," the West and North are again noticeable for the large proportion of servants and servant-keeping families, in contrast to the East, which has very few. Locality appears generally to reflect social position as much among the unoccupied as with those who work for a livelihood.

In regard to birthplace in or out of London the sample we have taken agrees with the bulk, the proportion for both being 43 per cent. of heads of families born in, to 57 per cent. born out. If analyzed the proportions are found to vary from 54 per cent. born in and 48 per cent. out with "spinsters," to 35 per cent. in and 65 per cent. out with pensioners, but on the whole there is much uniformity in the figures, as the following table shows. The total proportion born out of London is considerably more than with the whole population tested in the same way. This bears out the general view that in London the more successful people are largely country born :—

COMPARATIVE TABLE III.—*Proportions born in and out of London of "Unoccupied" heads of families.*

[illegible]



## PART IV.—INMATES OF INSTITUTIONS, &c.



# INMATES OF INSTITUTIONS, &c.

## CHAPTER I.

### OCCUPATIONS.

THE analysis of the population of London by families, which we have now completed, left out of account the inmates of hotels, common lodging-houses, large shops and institutions, to the number of 157,771.

It may be useful here to repeat the summary figures, given in the introduction to Vol. I., p. 9, dividing the population into the following groups:—

Members of families in which no servants are kept	3,371,789	80·1 %.
Members of servant-keeping families .....	476,325	11·3 %.
Servants (including 9633 in hotels and institutions)	205,858	4·9 %.
Inmates of Institutions, &c.		
viz. Hotels, &c. ....	25,726	} 157,771 3·7 %.
Common lodging-houses, &c. ....	20,087	
Large shops, &c. ....	15,321	
Institutions, &c. ....	96,637	
	<u>4,211,743</u>	<u>100 %.</u>

As to the population residing in hotels, with whom are included those living in the larger kind of boarding-houses, we have no information to offer. We assume them all to be at least comfortably off. On the other hand, the twenty thousand inmates of common lodging-houses we take to be all poor, and add them to the numbers of those living under crowded conditions. The character of these men has been already fully described in connection with Central London (Poverty Series, Vol. II.). Their occupations were not returned with any accuracy in the census, the “deputy,” as the man in charge is called, usually filling up the schedule for the whole number of inmates in a very rough and ready fashion. The particulars, if given, would not have added much to our general knowledge of the classes that live in these houses.

Those who live on the premises in the case of large shops and other places of business are for the most part described under the heading of "Drapers," Vol. III., Part I. They are distributed as follows in different parts of London :—

East London .....	1,059	in	67	establishments.
North „ .....	4,716	„	184	„
West „ .....	3,766	„	155	„
Central „ .....	3,364	„	103	„
South-East .....	865	„	46	„
South-West .....	1,551	„	54	„

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15,321

With those living in institutions, such as workhouses, hospitals, and prisons, have been included soldiers in barracks, seamen on board ships, children in boarding schools, and the inmates of charitable homes, &c., as summarized below :—

Barracks .....	12,358
Merchant ships, &c. ....	4,954
Workhouses, infirmaries, &c. ....	43,043
Hospitals .....	11,153
Lunatic asylums .....	4,590
Prisons .....	4,207
Reformatories, &c. ....	1,342
Boarding schools .....	14,990
Charitable homes .....	
Sundry minor institutions .....	

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96,637

Some interest attaches to the former or ordinary occupation of the inmates of workhouses, hospitals, lunatic asylums and prisons, and as to these the following particulars can be given.

Of the 43,000 persons residing in Poor Law establishments 24,728 were pauper inmates of workhouses and casual wards, and 12,262 were accommodated in the infirmaries. The rest were children in schools or resident officials. The nominal occupations of these 37,000 persons may be summarized as follows, but in considering the figures it must be borne in mind that they do not represent the whole body of

paupers, but only those receiving indoor relief. The recipients of out-relief would be nearly as numerous :—

*Table showing occupation or former occupation of inmates of Workhouses, Casual Wards and Poor Law Infirmaries.*

Total numbers employed (1891) over twenty years old.	Occupation.	Inmates of Work-houses and Casual Wards.	Inmates of Infirmaries.	Total.	Per cent. of total numbers.
28,859	Bricklayers, masons, plasterers .....	626	264	890	3.1
33,141	Builders, carpenters, joiners .....	568	225	793	2.4
36,226	Painters, glaziers, plumbers, locksmiths	505	258	763	2.1
45,910	Cabinet-makers & other wood-workers	717	323	1,040	2.3
48,696	Machine-makers and metal-workers ..	562	273	835	1.7
19,343	Gold & silver, watches & instruments..	116	82	198	1.0
25,353	Chemicals, soap, leather, &c. ....	318	159	477	1.9
10,010	Silk-weaving, other textiles, dyeing, &c.	435	104	539	5.4
53,829	Paper, printing, &c. ....	296	251	547	1.0
34,887	Tailors .....	591	278	869	2.5
24,055	Boot-makers .....	648	238	886	3.7
19,105	Seamstresses, machinists, &c. ....	1,126	508	1,634	8.6
36,805	Milliners.....	385	216	601	1.6
33,425	Hatters, hosiers, &c. ....	230	112	342	1.0
16,021	Millers, bakers, confectioners, &c.....	206	84	290	1.8
34,009	Butchers, milk-sellers, grocers, &c. ...	305	161	466	1.4
16,625	Tobacco manu., brewers, publicans, &c.	95	64	159	1.0
24,626*	Small shop-keepers .....	138	58	196	0.8
11,064*	Street-sellers .....	491	330	821	7.4
81,753	Clerks .....	358	153	511	0.6
45,193*	Cabmen, &c. ....	547	384	931	2.1
33,566	Carmen, &c. ....	254	171	425	1.3
36,149	Railway service, country labour, &c. ..	470	158	628	1.7
14,865	Seamen and lightermen .....	348	144	492	3.3
145,028	(Dock and wharf service, and labour) Coal porters, gasworks service .....	3,929	1,811	5,740	4.0
	Warehousemen, messengers, general labourers .....				
164,361*	Public service, professional, &c.....	407	254	661	0.4
215,571*	Domestic service .....	3,230	1,377	4,607	2.1
84,100*	Extra service(washing, hairdressing, &c.)	3,184	1,544	4,728	5.6
	Unoccupied or retired (including some wives and children and all old persons over sixty) .....	3,643	2,278	5,921	
	Analysed .....	24,728	12,262	36,990	
	Not analysed .....	—	—	6,053	
	Total .....			43,043	

\* Including employers.



It is to be regretted that the former occupations of the old are not given, as for our present purpose the information would be valuable. Otherwise their omission is no doubt justifiable, as it is unlikely that any inmate of the workhouse or infirmary over sixty years of age would ever work again at his trade.

In studying these percentages it must be borne in mind that the occupation given is probably the last occupation pursued, where there may have been more than one. Men unfit for hard physical labour or who for some other reason have failed elsewhere, may take up street-selling, or women in failing health turn to needlework, which no doubt explains in part the very high percentage of paupers in these trades. In the same way the high rate shown for "extra service," *i.e.* charwomen, washerwomen, hairdressers, &c., is doubtless due mainly to the charwomen, as theirs is an occupation frequently assumed by poor widows. In the case of seamstresses and shirt-makers, we have in addition a shrinking trade, and although the decrease in total numbers employed has been made up by the "machinists," the decay of the old industry may have caused the stranding from loss of employment of many of those accustomed only to the old-fashioned needlework. The effect of a decaying trade is shown also in the high proportion of paupers from weaving, &c. The percentage shown is 5·4 per cent. for the whole trade, but if silk weavers are taken alone the rate is 9·4 per cent.

Omitting these somewhat exceptional cases, which would have appeared still more exceptional had the old people over sixty been included, we find for the rest a range of from 4 per cent. for dock, wharf, and other labour to about  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for municipal and professional service and commercial clerks. The order in which these rates would place the trades confirms in a reasonable way that of poverty tested by crowding. The labour sections, which for this purpose could only be combined, include all the poorest

trades, except street-sellers, whose rate of pauperism, as we have seen, is from exceptional causes still higher. The men in the building trades follow with from 3·1 to 2·1 per cent., cabinet-makers show 2·3 per cent., and tailors 2·5 per cent., following very closely the order of poverty which the figures of crowding have disclosed. Boot-makers with 3·7 per cent. of paupers are a little out of proportion. It may be that the large number of paupers shown reflects the results of the introduction of machinery, which has doubtless incapacitated many former workers in this trade. Seamen, with 3·3 per cent. of paupers, are also a little out of proportion to the measure of their poverty. This is because the seamen who are scheduled as householders quite inadequately represent the condition of sailors generally, of whom many have neither families nor homes, nor any savings, and who, if their health fails, are apt to drift to the workhouse. These men are wrecked in port as well as at sea.

Sundry manufactures, metal-workers, bakers and confectioners, and railway service follow with from 1·9 to 1·7 per cent., again very much in proportion to the place they have taken in the scale of poverty as indicated by crowding.\* Gold and silver workers and watch and clock and instrument makers, following the same order, show only 1 per cent. of paupers, and so do hatters and printers, brewers and tobacconists. Clerks are not much out of place with ·6 per cent., but the rate is influenced and set rather low by the large proportion of young clerks and the vast increase in their numbers in recent years; and the same explanation may perhaps apply in the case of carmen, who with only 1·3 per cent. of indoor paupers, stand in a much better position than their apparent poverty would lead us to hope for. Cabmen, on the other hand, with 2·1 per cent., are exactly on the level that might be expected. On the whole, speaking quite roughly, we have 4 per cent. of indoor

\* A comparison of all the sections from this point of view will be given in the next volume.

pauperism, answering to 60 per cent. of poverty, 2 to 3 per cent. to 40 or 50 per cent.,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 per cent. answering to 25 or 30 per cent., 1 per cent. to an average of 20 per cent. and below 1 per cent. to less than 20 per cent.

Passing now to hospitals, lunatic asylums, and prisons, the table on opposite page shows the proportion of their inmates drawn from each group of trades.

The numbers given are not large enough to provide a very good basis for deduction; it seems, however, that seamen and lightermen and railway servants have the largest proportions in hospital, no doubt from liability to accident. Next to them come poor women, viz. seamstresses, charwomen and washerwomen (extra service), and in a lesser degree, milliners. Of all these, large percentages are found also in the workhouse infirmaries. Street-sellers come next, and, speaking generally, the out-door trades — bricklayers, plasterers, milk-sellers, butchers, and carmen—are above the average in this respect. Cabmen, however, are below what might be expected, perhaps because with them are included a large number of stablemen who are not exposed to the weather, and the same is true of the large mixed section of dock and other ordinary labour, a considerable portion of which is carried on under cover. Domestic service also shows a large proportion of hospital patients. In sickness many servants have no refuge except the hospital. On the other hand artisans who work indoors, with the single exception of boot-makers, show low averages throughout. Commercial clerks, municipal servants, and the professional classes contribute least to the hospital population—not necessarily because they have so very much better health than the rest, but because they are less accustomed to make use of public institutions. They are no doubt in a much better position to contend with sickness at home.

The proportion of those over sixty, as to whom no particulars of occupation are given, is even greater in the

*Table showing occupation or former occupation of inmates of Hospitals, Lunatic Asylums, and Prisons.*

Total numbers employed (1891) over 20 years of age.	Occupation.	Hospitals.		Lunatic Asylums.		Prisons.	
		Nos.	% of total.	Nos.	% of total.	Nos.	% of total.
28,859	Bricklayers, masons, plasterers ...	94	·33	24	·08	172	·60
33,141	Builders, carpenters, joiners .....	91	·27	42	·13	78	·24
36,226	Painters, glaziers, plumbers, lock-smiths .....	87	·24	24	·07	158	·44
45,910	Cabinet-makers & other wood-workers .....	123	·27	41	·09	95	·21
48,696	Machine-makers & metal-workers	104	·21	32	·07	99	·20
19,343	Gold & silver, watches & instruments .....	24	·12	13	·07	36	·19
25,353	Chemicals, soap, leather, &c. ....	45	·18	24	·09	35	·14
10,040	Silk weaving, other textiles, dyeing, &c. ....	19	·19	5	·05	8	·08
53,829	Paper, printing, &c. ....	141	·26	34	·06	90	·17
34,887	Tailors .....	76	·22	24	·07	134	·38
24,055	Boot-makers .....	64	·27	26	·11	108	·45
19,105	Seamstresses, machinists, &c. ....	82	·43	45	·24	38	·20
36,805	Milliners .....	122	·33	47	·13	11	·03
33,425	Hatters, hosiers, &c. ....	68	·20	29	·09	32	·10
16,021	Millers, bakers, confectioners, &c.	40	·25	15	·09	68	·42
34,009	Butchers, milk-sellers, grocers, &c.	102	·30	27	·08	80	·24
16,625	Tobacco manuf., brewers, publicans, &c. ....	37	·22	28	·17	114	·08
24,626*	Small shopkeepers .....	50	·20	23	·09	132	·54
11,064*	Street-sellers .....	39	·35	19	·17	83	1·65
81,753	Clerks .....	127	·16	135	·17	129	·16
45,193*	Cabmen, &c. ....	126	·28	29	·06	91	·20
33,566	Carmen, &c. ....	102	·30	12	·04	110	·33
36,149	Railway service, country labour, &c. ....	150	·41	67	·19	84	·23
14,865	Seamen and lightermen .....	68	·46	12	·08	108	·73
145,028	(Dock & wharf service & labour)	422	·29	178	·12	989	·68
	Coal porters, gas-works service						
	Warehousemen, messengers, general labourers .....						
164,861*	Public service, professional, &c. ....	246	·15	454	·28	124	·08
215,571*	Domestic service .....	633	·29	299	·14	116	·05
84,100*	Extra service (washing, hairdressing, &c.) .....	310	·37	109	·13	241	·29
	Unoccupied or retired (including some women and children and all old persons over 60) .....	2639	—	1497	—	176	—
	Analysed .....	6231	—	3314	—	3739	—
	Not analysed .....	4922	—	1276	—	468	—
		11,153		4590		4207	

\* Including employers.

case of hospitals than with workhouses and infirmaries; and if all of these were allotted to their respective trades the results of the comparison might be somewhat different.

As to lunatics, even more than with the inmates of hospitals, the numbers are not sufficient for any very close deductions. The professional classes and municipal service show the largest proportion; followed by seamstresses, who seem to have broken down at every point; the loss of their trade affecting their health both physically and mentally, and bringing many to the workhouse. Clerks, publicans, railway servants and street-sellers occupy an average position as to lunacy, while carmen, cabmen, seamen and the whole range of artisans, show very little tendency in this direction. Carmen, with their low regular wages and life without nervous strain of any kind, whether mental or physical, seem to be the least tainted with mental disease.

It would, again, be undesirable to press too far the figures as to the occupation of prison inmates, of whom it will be seen an extraordinarily large proportion come under the heading of street-sellers. Professional criminals no doubt often call themselves "dealers," and illegal practices are also at times covered under the heading of small shopkeepers. Seamen seem to come rather frequently within reach of the law. Otherwise, the high percentages are invariably connected with ordinary labour.

For all these people we know also the proportions born in or out of London, and as regards paupers and prisoners, the facts may be of interest. The table which follows gives the percentages, and for comparison gives also for the same groups of trades the total proportion of heads of families born in or out of London:—

*Birthplaces in or out of London of Inmates of Workhouses, &c., and Prisons.*

Occupation.	Workhouses, Infirmaries, and Casual Wards.		Prisons.		Total Heads of Families.	
	Born in London.	Born out of London.	Born in London.	Born out of London.	Born in London.	Born out of London.
	%.	%.	%.	%.	%.	%.
Bricklayers, masons, plasterers .....	47.0	53.0	68.0	32.0	52.4	47.6
Builders, carpenters, joiners.....	44.9	55.1	60.3	39.7	41.6	58.4
Painters, glaziers, plumbers, locksmiths	63.8	36.2	66.5	33.5	63.9	36.1
Cabinet-makers & other wood-workers	59.8	40.2	69.5	30.5	63.7	36.3
Machine-makers and metal-workers ...	52.8	47.2	55.6	44.4	54.3	45.7
Gold & silver, watches & instruments...	73.2	26.8	52.8	47.2	63.4	36.6
Chemicals, soap, leather, &c. ....	60.2	39.8	82.9	17.1	62.4	37.6
Silk-weaving, other textiles, dyeing, &c.	71.8	28.2	50.0	50.0	65.9	34.1
Paper, printing, &c. ....	66.7	33.3	77.8	22.2	68.5	31.5
Tailors .....	47.6	52.4	60.4	39.6	37.0	63.0
Boot-makers .....	55.1	44.9	73.1	26.9	52.0	48.0
Seamstresses, machinists, &c.....	52.6	47.4	44.7	55.3	56.8	43.2
Milliners .....	49.8	50.2	45.5	54.5	49.0	51.0
Hatters, hosiers, &c. ....	58.8	41.2	62.5	37.5	53.2	46.8
Millers, bakers, confectioners, &c. ....	49.7	50.3	48.5	51.5	40.7	59.3
Butchers, milk-sellers, grocers, &c.....	57.9	42.1	55.0	45.0	50.7	49.3
Tobacco manuf., brewers, publicans, &c.	49.7	50.3	42.9	57.1	44.7	55.3
Small shop-keepers .....	57.1	42.9	65.2	34.8	60.2	39.8
Street-sellers .....	59.1	40.9	68.9	31.1	66.0	34.0
Clerks .....	45.6	54.4	42.6	57.4	51.0	49.0
Cabmen, &c. ....	43.6	56.4	52.7	47.3	42.0	58.0
Carmen, &c. ....	53.6	46.4	72.7	27.3	57.0	43.0
Railway service, country labour, &c. ...	32.2	67.8	31.0	69.0	28.9	71.1
Seamen and lightermen .....	43.9	56.1	52.8	47.2	59.4	40.6
Dock and wharf service and labour ...	51.0	49.0	69.6	30.4	54.2	45.8
Coal porters, gas-works service .....						
Warehousemen, messengers, and general labourers .....						
Public service, professional, &c. ....	50.2	49.8	37.1	62.9	39.4	60.6
Domestic service.....	46.4	53.6	42.2	57.8	41.0	59.0
Extra service (washing, hairdressing, &c.)	52.0	48.0	61.4	38.6	51.6	48.4
Unoccupied or retired (including some women and children and all old persons over sixty) .....	55.6	44.4	48.9	51.1	—	—

On the whole it appears that the birthplaces of those living in poor-law establishments follow much the same proportions as are shown for the whole number of heads of families in each trade. In some cases there is rather more

pauperism amongst the London born, but in nearly as many cases the opposite is true, and in others the proportion is exactly the same wherever born. The decaying trades are naturally those which contribute on this comparison the largest proportion of London-born pauperism.

As to the prison population, on the other hand, there is a very distinct bias against the Londoner. It will be seen that in many cases 60, 70, and 80 per cent. of the inmates of gaols were born in London, as compared to 40, 50, and 60 per cent. of heads of families generally, and the sections to which this applies include all labourers and artisans. The exceptions are (1) seamen, of whom those of them that are heads of families in London are not a fair example, excluding to a great extent the rougher element; (2) gold and silver workers, watch and instrument makers, and silk weaving, exceptionally old-established trades, of which the newcomers are probably the less respectable members; (3) tobacco-workers, brewers, publicans, &c.; (4) clerks, public servants, and the professional classes; and (5) seamstresses, machinists, and milliners. In these cases the born Londoner seems to be fully as well-behaved as the immigrant from the Provinces, but with the population generally this is not the case.

## CHAPTER II.

### PAUPERISM AT STEPNEY.

IN 1889, when studying the aspects of poverty in Stepney, I came upon the written records of parochial relief which I now reproduce in order to illustrate the character of Metropolitan indoor pauperism.\*

The Stepney Union consists of the parishes of Limehouse, Shadwell, and Wapping, and the hamlet of Ratcliff. It has an area of 462 acres. Within its boundaries the Limehouse Cut and the Regent's Canal enter the Thames; and their banks, and that of the long line of river frontage extending from the Hermitage Basin almost to the entrance to the West India Docks, are fringed with wharves and warehouses. Excepting in parts of Limehouse, the district and its inhabitants are of a waterside character. The wharves and neighbouring docks are the chief sources of employment for the people, and, beyond the shopkeepers and some professional men, few are above the labouring class. There is a large Irish colony in Ratcliff, the men usually working at the waterside and the women at the Lead or Rope Works. Street-sellers of various grades have congregated in some poor streets in the northern part of Limehouse. Farther east, near the Burdett Road, the more comfortable class of people dwell.

For Poor-Law relief purposes the Union is divided into two parts—Limehouse being apportioned to one relieving officer, and Ratcliff, Shadwell, and Wapping to another.

There is a dispensary at the Relief Office, where the doctor attends daily. There is also casual ward accom-

\* First appeared in "A Picture of Pauperism" (Macmillan, 1892). The reprint seems desirable not only because the matter is extremely appropriate in its present position, but because the volume in which it originally appeared is now superseded, the subject of which it mainly treats (The Endowment of Old Age) having, since its publication, reached a further stage of development.



modation, but it has been closed for several years. The workhouses and infirmary are in the parish of Bromley, about two miles distant.

The policy of restricting out-relief was inaugurated in 1870, and continuous efforts have since been made to decrease the amount of this form of assistance. Out-relief has been refused to new applicants, while death and a process of weeding have made great reductions in the numbers, as is shown by the following official figures:—

Half-year ending Lady-day.	Indoor Poor.		Outdoor Poor.		Medical Relief only.	Total.	
	Number.	Cost of Mainten- ance.	Number.	Cost of Mainten- ance.		Number.	Cost.*
		£		£	£		£
1869†	1708	6344	7602	6153	2420	11,730	12,497
1871	1439	4876	4415	5401	1611	7465	10,277
1875	1581	4543	541	1200	822	2944	5743
1879	1663	4894	263	686	791	2717	5580
1883	1705	5425	135	362	924	2764	5787
1887	1670	5389	95	218	1065	2830	5607
1890	1823	5504	177	148	1169	3169	5652

The record of relief from 1876 is preserved in books kept by the relieving officers, and to these books I have kindly been allowed access. The system employed is so admirable that it might with advantage be adopted elsewhere. The name and request of every applicant for relief are entered in the relieving officer's journal, and if relief is granted, and sometimes when it is not granted, the particulars of the case are entered in the "record books." These particulars include the results of inquiries made, and what relief, if any, is given; and the books are so arranged and indexed that all entries referring to the same case are to be found together, and a reference is made to "allied" cases; that is, when other members of the same family have received assistance, "family" being here understood in its larger sense. It will readily be

\* Does not include cost of medical relief. † Last year under the old system.

perceived how invaluable a picture of the pauper class is to be found in the pages of these records.

The institutions belonging to the Union in which paupers live are as follow :—

- A. Poplar Workhouse (shared by Stepney), for the able-bodied.
- B. Bromley Workhouse, for the infirm, including aged and any children not at school.
- C. Sick Asylum at Bromley (shared by Poplar).
- D. District schools (at Sutton in Surrey).

Roman Catholic children are sent to various schools belonging to that community, and the lunatics to various asylums.

There are also a very limited number of out-pensioners, and a great deal of medical out-relief.

The numbers receiving relief on April 30th, 1889, were as follow :—

Able-bodied (Poplar Workhouse) .....	53	Indoor ..	1163
Infirm, aged, &c. (Bromley Workhouse) ..	504		
Sick .....	155		
School children .....	213		
Lunatics .....	238		
Pensioners .....	17	Outdoor*...	162
Medical relief .....	137		
Other ,, .....	8		
Total.....			1325

What manner of people these are will be shown by an analysis of the stories which are here subjoined or are given in Appendix B. In making this analysis I have found that the following are the principal causes of pauperism† :—

Crime.	Pauper association.	Lack of work.	Sickness.
Vice.	Heredity.	Trade misfortune.	Accident.
Drink.	Mental disease.	Restlessness.	Ill luck.
Laziness.	Temper.	No relations.	Old age.
	Incapacity.	Death of husband.	
	Early marriage.	Desertion.	
	Large family.	Death of father or mother.	
	Extravagance.		

\* Number on January 1st, 1889.

† The method adopted in tabulating these returns is explained in Appendix B (see pp. 394-5).

The table which follows shows the part apparently played by each cause at Stepney :—

*Principal Causes of Pauperism at Stepney (by Institutions).*

Principal or Obvious Causes.	Poplar, Able-bodied.		Bromley, Infirm.		Sick Asylum.		Summary.				Contributory Causes.			
	Number.	Per Cent.	Number.	Per Cent.	Number.	Per Cent.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Per Cent.	Drink.	Pauper Association and Heredity.	Sickness.	Old Age.
Drink .....	10	19·6	50	11·8	20	14·2	53	27	80	12·6	—	23	11	11
Immorality .....	7	13·7	5	1·1	4	2·9	6	10	16	2·5	3	3	3	1
Laziness .....	3	5·8	6	1·4	3	2·1	10	2	12	1·9	6	5	1	3
Pauper association and heredity .....	1	2·0	4	0·9	2	1·4	6	1	7	1·1	1	—	2	2
Incapacity, temper, etc. ....	5	9·8	19	4·3	—	—	17	7	24	3·8	4	5	2	6
Extravagance...	—	—	8	1·8	—	—	7	1	8	1·3	4	2	—	3
Lack of work, or trade misfortune .....	5	9·8	23	5·2	—	—	26	2	28	4·4	4	—	5	13
Accident .....	—	—	25	5·7	5	3·5	25	5	30	4·7	4	2	1	14
Death of husband .....	4	7·9	20	4·5	2	1·4	—	26	26	4·1	3	2	10	8
Desertion .....	1	2·0	2	0·5	—	—	—	3	3	0·5	3	—	1	1
Mental derangement .....	3	5·8	7	1·6	1	0·7	3	8	11	1·7	1	2	—	2
Sickness .....	8	15·7	76	17·2	85	60·3	98	71	169	26·7	24	38	5	41
Old age .....	—	—	192	43·4	16	11·4	113	95	208	32·8	22	18	44	—
Other causes....	4	7·9	5	1·1	3	2·1	9	3	12	1·9	6	6	2	2
	51	100·0	442	100·0	141	100·0	373	261	634	100·0	85	106	87	107
Children .....	2	—	21	—	13	—	22	14	36	—	—	—	—	—
Old cases, no record .....	—	—	41	—	1	—	20	22	42	—	—	—	—	—
	53	—	504	—	155	—	415	297	712	—	—	—	—	—

Drink stands as principal cause in eighty out of 634 cases, or 12·6 per cent., whilst as contributory it appears in eighty-five more, chiefly in connection with sickness and old age as principal cause. Altogether, only 25 per cent. are returned as affected by drink. This proportion

is less than might have been expected, and it is probable that closer research into the circumstances and history of these people, if it could be made, might disclose a greater connection than here appears between pauperism and the public-house.\*

It will be seen that pauper association and heredity, while only accounting as principal cause for seven cases, appear as contributory in no less than 106 cases. Incapacity and lack of work together account for fifty-two cases, or 8 per cent. of the whole, and accidents for thirty cases more. The large proportion of accidents, as well as the numerous out-of-work cases, are probably connected with risks and uncertainties of waterside employment. Sickness accounts as principal cause for 169 cases, and old age for 208, whilst the latter contributes in 107 other cases. Sickness and old age are causes so overwhelming and obvious as to draw a curtain over what has gone before; behind that curtain we doubtless might find some whose previous life offered another explanation of their condition.

In weighing the value of the evidence on which the foregoing table is based, it is to be remembered that it was none of it taken *ad hoc*, but was collected and noted down as a matter of business by those who had to report on each

\* It is, however, noteworthy that the results shown agree on the whole with those of the two inquiries I have myself made previously into *apparent* causes of poverty. The first, regarding four thousand cases of poverty known by certain of the School Board visitors, gave 13 and 14 per cent. as due to drink, the higher percentage being for the greater degree of poverty. The second, regarding about five thousand people living poor and irregular lives, showed 10 and 11 per cent., dropping to only 5 per cent. for about another three thousand who, though poor, were more regularly employed; the information in this case coming from district visitors connected with religious organizations. The relieving officers, School Board and district visitors, are all of them in daily contact with the people, and their various reports agree to a very remarkable extent.

Mr. McDougall, as the result of a searching inquiry into 254 cases at Manchester, gives 52 per cent. as the proportion of drink cases.

case for the guidance of the Guardians in the administration of the law. I, however, do not wish to lay too much stress on the results shown, as the basis is insufficiently wide for safe generalization, and I give it rather to show the use that might be made of such information if obtained on a larger scale than as of much conclusive value.

The stories of the Stepney paupers fill half a dozen large notebooks, and the summary of them which appears in the Appendix, though rather an indigestible mass, embodies information which may perhaps be more safely absorbed in that shape (if any have sufficient appetite), than if taken in "tabloid" form. The stories themselves might be apt to mislead by bringing forward some cause or characteristic of city pauperism in too great prominence, unless considered in their due relation to the whole mass they represent. Those that follow have, however, been chosen as fairly typical. They will be found to illustrate the habits of the poor as well as the conditions of pauperism.

## CHAPTER III.

### A PICTURE OF PAUPERISM.

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#### TWELVE STORIES ILLUSTRATIVE OF PAUPER SURROUNDINGS.\*

##### *The Rooney Family and its Connections.*

MARTIN ROONEY, aged eighty-six, now in Bromley Workhouse, married Ellen King, and this family has been prolific in paupers.

First there is Mary Rooney, the wife of Martin's brother James, who was deserted by him in 1867 and has had relief in various forms since, including residence in the sick asylum for several years. She also applied on behalf of her married daughter, Mrs. Wilson, and her son Michael appears on the books; but with this branch we do not go at present beyond the second generation.

The old man Martin, who is now blind, applied for admission in 1878. His wife was then in hospital, having broken her leg when intoxicated. He had been a dock labourer, and had received £21 from the Company in 1857 on breaking a leg. He was admitted to Poplar Workhouse. A month later his wife, who is twenty-four years his junior, came out of hospital and was also admitted. The relieving officer made a note that he did not know a more drunken disreputable family than this one. He had seen the woman "beastly drunk" at all times of the day. From this time the old man remained in the house, but

\* Fictitious names are used.

the woman went out several times, and when out was more than once seen in the streets in a drunken condition. She worked sometimes at the Lead Works, sleeping occasionally with her sons, at other times in various places—in water-closets, on stairs, &c. When her son Patrick was sent to prison for two months she went into the house. In 1888 she absconded, but in March, 1889, applied for readmission; she had fallen down and cut her face on the Saturday night before.

This couple had three children—Patrick, James, and Bridget. Patrick, born in 1853, by trade a stevedore, is now in Poplar Workhouse. He was living with his mother in 1886, and she made application for medical attendance for him. He was suffering from rheumatism. He became worse and was sent to the sick asylum; was discharged, but again admitted a month or two later. Next year he was sent to Bromley Workhouse. He bears a bad character, and was in prison two months in 1888, and had one month in 1889 for attempting to steal some ropes. On coming out of prison he again applied for admission to the workhouse, and was sent to Poplar. He had a bad leg. He got work on the day he was discharged from the sick asylum, injured his leg, and was readmitted to workhouse. He served fourteen or fifteen years in the Royal Marines, and was discharged in 1885 for striking a petty officer. He was for this sentenced to six months' imprisonment by court-martial.

James, the second son, is a labourer, not married. He used to live with a woman name O'Reill, but left her, or she him, and is at present living with another woman.

Bridget, the eldest, born 1847, married John Murdock, a bricklayer's labourer, eight years older than herself, and there are four children, all boys. Murdock deserted his wife several times, and has been sent to prison for it. She in turn left him in 1877, and has been living with another man since. After this he was in Bromley House with the

children. The two eldest were emigrated to Canada in 1880. The man's sister married Richard Bardsley, whose mother, a widow, is living at Bromley, and whose brother and brother's wife both had relief there.

Murdock had also a brother George, a general labourer, who lived with Anna Peel, a prostitute, whose parents are now in West Ham Workhouse. This woman applied in 1878 for sick asylum or medical relief for the man, and six months later wanted an order for the sick asylum herself. The relieving officer visited her two days later, but she had gone to her father at Stratford. In 1885 she came again and was admitted, suffering from syphilis. She had been living at a brothel in James Street for three years. George Murdock is now dead.

Murdock's mother married again, and both she and the man she married, Thomas Powles, are now in Bromley House. Powles, a dock labourer, had an accident, being burnt on a barge at Gravesend in 1875. He came to London then, and was admitted to the sick asylum. In 1877 he applied for relief, saying he had been knocking about, sleeping in barges, &c. He was admitted to the house. The next record was in 1883, when he asked for medicines for his wife. She had had a fall and was very ill. The relieving officer visited and found the home (one room) clean and comfortable; medical relief was given. In 1884 the man was admitted to the asylum, having met with another accident. He had been out of work some time then. In 1886 the man was ill again. He had not worked for five weeks, and they had lived by selling their things. He became worse, and was sent to the sick asylum in April. He did not stay long, but in two months' time applied again for relief outside. He had only earned 8s in the two months. Three days later the doctor recommended his removal to the sick asylum. Later in the same year his wife was taken ill: and finally they were both admitted to Bromley Workhouse.



We may now come to the relatives of Eliza King, Martin Rooney's wife. She had three sisters—Susan, Jane, and Sarah Anne. Of Susan we only know that she was in service at Guildford. Jane married Thomas Milward. In 1879 Milward applied for medical aid. He could not pay. Whatever money he gave his wife she spent in drink, and if he did not give her money she sold the furniture. Relieving officer made a note that he knew the woman as a notorious drunkard. On visiting he found her in the room drunk, while another woman (Mrs. Harvey of Spring Street) was "reclining on a heap of something which served as a bed," speechlessly drunk. The sick man was sitting by the fire. He always found the room thus, with no furniture, although the man earned from 30s to 40s a week. A month later the woman came and said her husband was dead, and that she wanted him buried by the parish. During 1880 and 1881 Mrs. Milward had medical relief frequently. She went to the Lead Works, and this work and drink seemed to be telling on her. Some time in 1882 she picked up with a man named Robert Belton, a carpenter, and she lived with him at intervals until 1885. This man was in Bromley Workhouse with a bad leg in 1879, and again later, and died in the sick asylum in 1885. Mrs. Milward says he was a great drunkard, which was pot calling kettle black. After Belton's death she injured her shoulder, and having sold up Belton's home and spent the money, applied for admission. She was sent to Poplar Workhouse, and since then has been in and out several times. She hurt her shoulder three times when out from the workhouse, probably through falling while drunk. On two occasions she walked to Guildford to see her sister.

Sarah Anne, the remaining sister, married Thomas Searle, who broke his neck falling downstairs when drunk. It is even said that some of his relatives threw him down in a quarrel. The family was reported as utterly disreputable and very drunken. Left a widow, she kept herself by washing,

and does not seem to have had any assistance from the parish herself. She had three children—Edward, Martha, and Francis. Of Edward there is happily no record. Martha married Peter Connor, and her aunt, Mrs. Milward, applied on her behalf for medical aid in 1882, she having hurt herself from falling from a ladder at the Lead Works. She had separated from her husband about three years before. He was a 'bus driver and lived at Notting Hill. After leaving him she lived a while at his sister's, and then went to her mother's in South London, and when her mother moved to this neighbourhood came with her. She was, however, living at the time with a dock labourer in a common lodging-house—a connection which did not last long.

Francis Searle cohabited with a woman named Augusta Hendy from 1877, he being then twenty-two, and he married her in 1885. They had three children. The woman asked for medical aid for her child Wilfrid in March, 1880. The relieving officer found the room filthy, with a bed on the floor. In May of the same year the man applied on behalf of the woman. She was found to be suffering from his ill-usage, had black eyes, and had been beaten much. From this time there were frequent applications for medical aid. In July, 1881, the woman was admitted to Poplar Workhouse, and was there confined of her third child Edith. In July, 1882, their landlady made application, saying that Francis Searle and Augusta Hendy were ill at her house. The relieving officer visited with the doctor. The woman came downstairs without shoes or stockings, a miserable-looking creature. The man, woman, and child were sent to Poplar. After this there were no more applications till 1886, when the man came for medical aid for his child Constance. In 1887 the man applied for medicine for the children; he said he "was married now." During the greater part of 1888 the children were ill, and several applications were made by the parents, the last being in November, 1888. This woman, Augusta Hendy,

was the daughter of old Benjamin Hendy, known as "Red Ben," who is now in the workhouse, and every one of whose family has had relief. Benjamin Hendy, the younger, age thirty, a dock labourer, not married, was sent to the sick asylum at the end of 1880, and in 1884 went into Poplar Workhouse. Margaret, another of them, was a servant. In 1879 she hurt her face while staying with Augusta, and had medical aid. In November, 1883, she went into Poplar Workhouse and was confined of a male child (Robert), born in 1884. With this workhouse child we come at last to the end of the Rooney family and its connections.

*The Grants and the M'Phersons.*

Alexander Grant, aged sixty-seven, inmate of Bromley Workhouse, came in through an accident, but the whole story of the case discloses drink and pauper associations as the underlying causes. The first application for assistance was by the man's wife in 1879 for medicine for her mother. The old woman is now dead; her husband, who died in 1857, had been for twenty-seven years gatekeeper at the London Docks. Next, in April, 1882, Mrs. Grant asked for medicines for her husband. There are five sons and two daughters, all grown up. The eldest son, who is married and has four children, is a coal-porter, and suffers with bad eyes. Two more are in Australia. The two youngest sons and the two daughters are single, and live at home. The sons pay their mother 13s and 10s a week respectively. In September, 1882, the youngest son was sent to the fever hospital. In October of the same year the father was knocked down by a chaise in Commercial Road, and four days afterwards, when he went to the hospital, it was found that his ribs were fractured. He could not be kept there, and was sent to the sick asylum. In February, 1883, the woman obtained medicine for the

elder son. She said her husband had not worked for five months. In March she complained to the relieving officer that her husband was a drunken, good-for-nothing fellow, who spent all he could get in drink. He had taken the boots of an orphan boy who lived with them, and spent the money he got for them in drink. In April they owed £6 rent, still occupying the house where they had been since 1877. The rent was 8s a week, and they sub-let part. In September, 1883, the man asked to be admitted to Bromley Workhouse, and the wife said her children would keep her, but not their father, "because he ill-treated her and spent his money in drink." He was admitted to Poplar Workhouse. In April, 1884, the man asked for re-admission. He had just been discharged from the sick asylum. His wife was living with one of her sons. In June the wife complained that she had fallen downstairs and hurt herself, and mentioned incidentally that her niece, Charlotte M'Pherson, coming out of prison, had smashed her windows and been locked up for it. Medical aid was given to Mrs. Grant, and continued till May, 1885. Grant himself was transferred to Bromley (Infirm) Workhouse in June, 1889.

Mrs. Pardon (Charlotte M'Pherson's mother) was Mrs. Grant's sister, and had two daughters—the elder one, Emma, born about 1838, lived with a man, James Fernie, and had five children by him, of whom only one was living in 1880. Mrs. Grant applied for medical assistance for James Fernie in September, 1880. He had been attending the London Hospital, and had not worked for nine or ten weeks. Emma had then just come out of prison, where she had served nine months for felony. Fernie was admitted to the sick asylum, and died there. Emma was in prison again in 1883, this time for three months, for stealing shirts. Of James Fernie's people we learn that he had a brother David, whose wife was at Colney Hatch in 1878, and he endeavoured by lying and other means to evade his responsibility, although he was in regular work.

The case of Mrs. Grant's other niece, Charlotte M'Pherson (sometime called Eastwood), is even worse. Her husband, M'Pherson, was a sailor, and she, both before and after her marriage, was a prostitute. She applied for relief in June, 1881, four years after her marriage. The note made on her case says,—“A shocking bad character, and nearly blind. She was in the sick asylum before she was married, and then had an illegitimate child. She is so bad her husband will not live with her.” She was admitted to Poplar Workhouse. There was another application in 1883, and during the interval she had lived part of her time with her sister, Emma Fernie. In January, 1884, she came again with Mrs. Grant; she had been drinking and threatening everybody. In June following she was again admitted; she had been staying at a common lodging-house, where she had taken men. Another prostitute had beaten her. Charlotte had only come out of prison a few days before, having had fourteen days for breaking windows (a favourite pastime with her). In July, 1884, she came to the Relief Office drunk, and the police had to remove her. She had 5s in her pocket. From this time onward there is an almost continuous string of applications. In April, 1885, she was taken to the workhouse by the police; she had been in a rescue home, but a man with whom she cohabited had taken her away. In June she was with her mother for a few days. In October she was again ejected from the Relieving Office drunk. In 1886 she was for a while in the sick asylum. In July, 1887, she applied for admission, and being told to wait, broke eight panes of glass, for which she was sentenced to seven days' hard labour. There are several other records of applications when drunk. In October, 1888, she came out of Poplar Workhouse “just for a change, not feeling well.” The last freak recorded is in April, 1889, when she was again sent to prison for breaking windows at the workhouse. The full list of her admissions to, and discharges from,

Poplar Workhouse between September, 1886, and April, 1889, are as follows :

Admitted.	Discharged.	Admitted.	Discharged.
16 Sept. 1886	11 Nov. 1886	3 Sept. 1888	3 Oct. 1888
18 Nov. "	31 Dec. "	5 Oct. "	10 Nov. "
10 Feb. 1887	21 April 1887	14 Nov. "	24 Dec. "
21 April "	3 June "	30 Dec. "	3 Jan. 1889
9 June "	14 July "	5 Jan. 1889	10 Jan. 1889
26 July "	6 Sept. "	11 Jan. "	9 Feb. "
9 Sept. "	26 Dec. "	10 Feb. "	16 Feb. "
29 Dec. "	30 Dec. "	19 Feb. "	11 March "
19 Jan. 1888	9 May 1888	25 April "	29 April, to Prison
10 May "	30 Aug. "		

### *The Greenwoods.*

Henry Greenwood, born 1833, was a dealer in waste paper. By a first marriage he had four children, including a son, Edward, born 1858, who married Sarah Carter. Edward deserted his wife, leaving her with three children, and she applied to the parish for medicines for them. Her husband had been in gaol, and after his discharge a ship was found for him and 20s advanced by the Prisoners' Aid Society to buy clothes. He, however, spent the money and absconded, being last seen at his brother Henry's house. Thomas, the eldest, and Martin, the youngest, of Henry Greenwood's sons, married sisters. Thomas was a soldier, and deserted in India, but obtained pardon in the Jubilee year. In his absence his youngest daughter Eliza was buried by the parish.

The elder Greenwood's second marriage was with Mary Jennings. Mary's brother Jack came to live with them. This youth was subject to fits, and was brought by Greenwood to the relieving officer and admitted to Poplar Workhouse. The youth's memory seemed quite gone, and he could at first recollect nothing concerning himself. Greenwood was charged anonymously with defrauding this boy of money, but denied the accusation.

Edward Greenwood's wife had a sister, who also became

chargeable. She lived with a man named Johnson, but was staying with Edward Greenwood's family when she became deranged, and was sent to the Lunatic Asylum. Her friends said Johnson had "taken her off the streets." The man Johnson had deserted his own wife in 1880, and she then became chargeable. She was a vicious, drunken woman, and has since had two children by another man. One of these children, born in 1883, was admitted to the sick asylum in 1885 with catarrh, caused by neglect, and its mother had been previously in gaol for assaulting the child.

Johnson himself was in further trouble in 1877, being then imprisoned for theft.

*Mrs. Hubbard and her Children.*

Catherine Hubbard, a widow, born 1814, applied for relief in 1881. She said her husband had been a lighterman fifty years, and was drowned at Erith. While he lived he gave her 20s a week out of his earnings, and (she said) spent the rest foolishly. She had £12 at his death from the Watermen's Club, and £8 from other sources. She spent £7. 10s on the funeral, and bought a mangle for £3. 15s. She lived in a large underground kitchen (rent 2s), and earned about 3s 6d a week with her mangle. She wished to get out-relief. She applied again later in the year, and was referred to the Charity Organization Society. Inquiries showed that the man had been a great drunkard, and, it was said, drink caused his accident. The woman also bore a bad character for intemperance, and was described by one person as a "foul-mouthed drunken person." In 1882 she came intoxicated to the relieving officer's house. She had had 5s the day before from a charitable society. On visiting her, the relieving officer found the woman and her daughter about to sell their furniture, the mother meaning to apply for admission afterwards. She was cautioned against this, and

appears to have abandoned the project. She, however, applied in June as destitute. Her mangle and furniture were sold for £4. 10s. She was admitted, and her son ordered to pay 4s a week. She came out November, 1885, and re-entered March, 1886, having been in several places as nurse in the interval. In January, 1889, she came out and stayed with a married daughter at Rotherhithe for a few days, and then returned.

She has one son whom she had not seen for three years. He is a lighterman, married, with four children, but his wife went to live with her own relations in 1886 and took the children with her. There are three daughters, all of whom are married. One, who has eight children, is the wife of a house-painter. This man was sent to prison in 1879 for removing goods when he owed rent. Since then, medical relief has been given to the wife on several occasions. Mrs. Hubbard lived with them for some time. Another daughter is a widow with two children, a tailoress. The youngest, married to a dock labourer at Rotherhithe, has ten children.

*Family Connections of old Mrs. Temperley.*

Old Mrs. Temperley, a widow, applied for medicine in 1883, being then eighty-three years old. She had been a needlewoman, but her daughters were keeping her, and she lived with one of them, Mrs. Kitson. Next year the old woman applied again for medicine, still from her daughter's house, and there were similar applications at frequent intervals after this until 1888, and medical relief was granted for either four weeks or thirteen weeks at each application. She helped her daughter with trouser-work. Before going to her daughter's house she lived eight years in a home of her own. She was insured in a burial club for £5. 5s.

There are seven married daughters, all of whom appear in the books. Mrs. Kitson, age sixty-two, with whom the



old lady lived, is the wife of a waterman, and has three grown-up children. One, a son, is a coal-porter, with three children of his own; and there are two daughters, one married, and the other a girl in service at 2s 6d a week. This girl, being at home with a bad knee, had medicine.

Mrs. Johns, the second daughter, age 59, is a tailoress. She does not live with her husband. He was a night watchman, and separated from his wife in 1875. Johns was this woman's second husband, and she was his third wife. When she left him he agreed to allow her 5s a week, and she applied for relief in 1877, because he had refused to continue the allowance. The man's landlady said she would not have Mrs. Johns in the place, as she and her husband were always quarrelling—one was as bad as the other. In 1881 she had medicine for her son, Edward Johns, then fifteen years old. He was employed in the coasting trade, and received 25s for a two months' voyage. In 1884 old Mrs. Temperley made an application, saying that her daughter Violet (Mrs. Johns) had met with an accident, and been taken to the London Hospital, and now needed medical relief. This was granted, and is the last entry on her account. Mrs. Johns had two children from an earlier and illegitimate connection. One of these came in 1883, with his mother, and said he had had no work for seven weeks, and was ill and wanted medicine. This was granted. A year later his mother came and said he was very ill, and had not worked for three months. He was sent to the sick asylum, and had medical attendance afterwards. In the autumn of 1885 he had been hopping, and came back ill. He was then admitted to the sick asylum, and remained till 1886. Two days after he was discharged he had medical relief again. Her legitimate children were Edward, already mentioned, and Martha, who was in service. She had medicine in 1886, and again in 1887, when she fell downstairs.

Mrs. Temperley's third daughter, born in 1832, married Richard Heath. In 1882 this man was sent to the sick

asylum ; he had only been in the Union a fortnight, having come from St. George's-in-the-East, where he had been in the workhouse. The family were described as dirty and drunken. The man had bad attacks of rheumatism, and was several times in the sick asylum before his admission into Bromley Workhouse in 1889. His family had deserted him because he was a burden to them, and he did not know where they were. Mrs. Heath was a needlewoman. There were three children married and two at home. Of the married daughters we only know that they have respectively four and three children. The son's wife came in 1885 for medicine for her child.

The fourth daughter married first a man named Clanty, a sailor, and by him had two sons, who both follow the sea, and a daughter, who is married to a cabman. She had another son, who is a printer, and who was born in the interval between Clanty's death and her marriage with Petersen, a Norwegian sailor. In 1883 the woman asked that her husband (Petersen) might be admitted to the sick asylum. He had met with an accident at sea, and been in hospital, first abroad and then at Liverpool. He had just come home from Liverpool. He was admitted, and soon afterwards got into Greenwich Hospital, where he died in 1884. There were two children by Petersen, a boy of eleven (afflicted) and a little girl six years old, when the father died. The woman had medical relief for herself in 1884, and again at the end of 1885, Thomas (the illegitimate son) being out of work ; and in 1886 for the little girl ; Thomas still out of work. The woman worked as a tailoress, but only earned 4s or 5s a week. In 1886 there were three more applications for medicines. On the last occasion Thomas had joined the army. At the end of 1888 the little girl, then ten years old, was ill, and was sent to the fever hospital. The woman was then reported as earning 5s or 6s a week. This is the last record.

Yet another of Mrs. Temperley's daughters married

Edward Hill, a bottle-washer. Mrs. Hill worked at trouser-finishing. They had a large family—Peter and James and Samuel and Charles and Edward and Richard for sons, with Ellen and Martha and Kate as daughters. Two of the sons are married, and both are coal-porters; one of the girls works at a fruit warehouse. In October, 1883, the mother obtained medicines for one of the younger children. Her husband, she said, had been out of work for five weeks.

Finally, there is a sixth daughter, Mrs. Cooper, whose marriage opens up another pauper connection. This woman applied first in 1877. Her husband had hurt his knee-cap twelve months before, and had done no work since. A collection of £3. 15s 6d had been made for him at the time. Medical relief was granted. Applying for medical relief for herself four years later, she said that her husband was then keeper of the horse trough at the King's Arms, and gave her 9s a week. At this time there were six children in the family, three of her own, then from ten to twenty years of age, and three of her husband's by a first wife. There were two more applications for medicine for the woman and her children, and in 1882 she obtained a medical-attendance order for her husband, who was suffering from bronchitis. He died shortly afterwards. Mrs. Cooper worked (like all her sisters) at tailoring. Her son Herbert and his wife lived with her; he was out of work, and his wife supported him by waistcoat-making. Mrs. Cooper, the widow, had medicines in 1883 more than once. She said she earned 3s a week. A month later the relieving officer heard that Peter, her second son, although always out of work according to his mother, was preparing a home for a wife, and later he married Edith Drew, whose family will be described later. There were five other applications for medicine before the end of 1887. In 1887 she reported her youngest son as earning 10s a week as wharf boy, he being then seventeen. There were two more applications in 1888, and the boy was then out of work.

The three elder sons of the Cooper family all appear in the books. Herbert, already mentioned, born 1862 (and married since 1880), has had medical relief. His wife applied in 1881, and said that her husband was discharged from his employment two months before; he was a carman. She and her baby were ill. Husband and wife were neither of them over eighteen when married. Medical aid was granted, but the baby died. They were then living with her husband's mother, paying 1s 6d a week for their room. The next application was in 1888, by the wife, for medicine for the youngest child, then about twelve months old. Her husband had been casually employed as coal carman at a brewery; he had not worked for two weeks. She herself was working at a factory, and earned 1s 6d a day. Medicines were continued two months later, and there was another application in 1889, when the man was stated not to have earned more than £2 in the past month. There were two children besides the first baby that died.

The son, Peter Cooper, born 1864, a carman and general labourer, married in 1883. The wife, who was eighteen when married, applied in 1888, saying that her husband had been out of work three months, except a day occasionally. She herself did a little work in the jam factory, and earned 1s 3d a day; she had done two days' work last week. She wanted medicine for the baby. Relieving officer visited and found the room comfortably furnished and very clean. Later in the same year she came again for medical aid for the child. A neighbour said this couple were decent, hard-working, and sober people. They were insured in the Prudential. There are two children.

Mrs. Peter Cooper's mother, Mrs. Bardsley, is in Bromley House. She has been a widow since 1882. She applied in 1881 for medical assistance for her husband, a dock labourer, who had been ill seven weeks. Two days later she had medicine for herself. Two landladies gave Mr. and Mrs. Bardsley a good character for sobriety and cleanliness.

The husband appears to have been admitted to the sick asylum, as later the wife applied for his readmission. He was suffering from bronchitis. In 1882 Mrs. Bardsley applied to the Charity Organization Society, and was offered a dinner daily, but declined this. She wanted 2s a week. Her daughter Emma (afterwards Mrs. Cooper) was then living at home, earning 4s or 5s a week at a sweet factory, and one of the boys earned a little. Her husband died, as we have said, in 1882. Mrs. Bardsley, then 61, moved to a single room (rent 2s 6d). She applied for medicine, and the relieving officer, on visiting her, found the room clean and comfortably furnished. The mother, son James (eighteen), and Emma (fourteen), all slept in it. There were nine applications for medicine to the end of 1887, by which time Emma was married and James was employed at some pottery works, earning 11s a week. In 1888 the old woman went to the sick asylum, and again in 1889. She is now in Bromley House, and James was ordered to pay 1s a week. As he did not obey, the law was appealed to, and a magistrate's order was obtained against him for 1s 9d a week. He is potman at a public-house.

There are a number of other sons and daughters, all of whom married and had children of their own, except James. Two are dead, and one of these had relief. He was a dock labourer, born 1855, and was in the sick asylum in 1884, and being admitted again in 1887, died there.

We have still to describe Robert Cooper, elder brother to Herbert and Peter, and his children, and the family into which he married.

In 1888, Mrs. Cooper, the mother, applied for medical relief for her son Robert's wife. Robert had just got work at the brewery (as carman) after being out for three months. Relieving officer visited, and found the house clean and comfortable. Later the wife asked for medicines for her children, Annie, three years, and Edith, twelve months old. She was ill herself, and her husband next day asked to

have her admitted to the sick asylum. The Nursing Society was giving her milk, but the children had this. She was admitted to the sick asylum, and remained two months suffering from debility. While she was in, the husband had medicine for the children and himself. His work was slack, his employer working only three instead of four gangs, and he being on the fourth gang. Before he was put off he earned 26s one week and 23s the next. In 1889 Mrs. Robert Cooper was again admitted to the asylum. She was weakly, and felt queer in the head. The man was said to drink to excess. The wife was a decent woman. The marriage, like that of his brothers, was early, there being only twenty years between the age of the father and that of his first child, and only nineteen years between the mother and child. Mrs. Robert Cooper was a factory hand, eldest daughter of Samuel Pope, a twine-spinner, and his wife Jane.

This Mr. Pope, a man of fifty-three, had medical relief in 1879 (when he was forty-three). He had not worked for six months then through ill-health. In 1889 he had medical relief again. He had only done three days' work in three months. The man's wife did no work, and the children could not assist. There are seven sons. The two eldest are twine-spinners, but not in London, and each has a wife and family to support. Edward and Stephen are also married. Henry, a boy of eighteen, lives away from home in lodgings, the only ones left in the nest being Theodore and Martin, boys of ten and seven. Mrs. Pope was one of a large family who also have been acquainted with poverty and poor relief.

The name of this family was Butson, and we know first of old Mrs. Butson (born 1810) applying for relief, and asking that her sons might be compelled to allow her each a shilling a week, and subsequently applying through her daughter for medical relief. It does not appear whether this daughter was Mrs. Pope or Mrs. Pringle, probably Mrs. Pringle, as

she applied also on behalf of her daughter, who suffered from convulsions, for admission to the sick asylum.

The only one of her sons we know anything of is Edward, whose history, and that of his widow and children, is a catalogue of sickness. Edward Butson was a jobbing bricklayer, and applied in 1877. His child Caroline had died, and he wanted medical attendance for the mother, and could not afford it, as he had paid for the funeral. There was a very large family, the eldest twenty-three (only seventeen years younger than his mother), the youngest only two years old. Nine were living and three dead. Applications for medical relief were made three times in 1878 and also in 1881, and again in 1883, 1884, and 1887. In the first case the man had been out of work three weeks. The two eldest sons gave their mother 6s and 4s 6d a week respectively. In 1884 the eldest son was ill. In February, 1887, the youngest boy was ill. The woman applied and said her husband had not earned more than £1 since Christmas. At this time the second son gave his mother 8s a week. The eldest girl was at service earning 2s 6d a week, and the woman herself did needlework. In August of the same year the little boy was again ill. The husband had met with an accident, and not worked since. The second son was in hospital, and his 8s no longer coming in. Medical relief was granted. In 1888 the man was ill and wanted medicine, and his wife asked for a letter to the Charity Organization Society. Said she had three elder children out of work, as well as five young children to keep at home. The home visited twice, and reported on contradictorily. A neighbouring shopkeeper said both man and wife were great drunkards. Another reported the man as not lazy, but apt as well as his wife to spend too much on drink. The man was admitted to sick asylum in January, 1888, and came out in March; did not like the food, and thought he could work. After two or three weeks out he was readmitted. The wife then said that she

could not keep all her children, and asked to have two of the younger ones sent to the schools, which was done. The father left the sick asylum again, and died at home in April. Friends subscribed and buried him. The second son, who was reported ill, in 1887 was admitted to sick asylum. After the father's death, various applications were made during 1888 for medical relief. Early in 1889 Mrs. Butson applied for medical relief for the youngest child, and as to her other children, reported her eldest son out of work, the second working and giving 6s a week to her, the eldest girl out of place, lazy and would not work, and the boy of fourteen earned 1s 6d a week and his food. She herself had lost her work (needlewoman) in consequence of the children's illness. Three months later the eldest boy was at work and the second out, and the girl had taken up shirt-finishing. The errand boy still had his place at 1s 6d a week, and the little ones were a great burthen. In 1889 her eldest son was ill, and his mother applied for medicines for him.

### *Three Allied Families.*

In 1887 application was made for out-relief for old Mrs. Matthews. The daughter said until her father's death out-relief had been given, and that since then Mrs. Matthews had been supported by her children. Mr. Matthews bore a good character, but his wife was described as a drunken old woman. In 1879 her son Martin applied for her admission to the sick asylum and offered to pay 2s a week. She was admitted, and is since dead.

There were several more children. William, the eldest, born 1837, was brought up as a carpenter, following his father's trade, as indeed did Martin also. In 1882 he applied, suffering from rheumatic gout, and was admitted to Bromley House. He got better, but suffered relapse from time to time, and applied for readmission twice in that year. In 1883 he asked the relieving officer to assist him



in obtaining some tools. He had done some work for the master while in the house. The Charity Organization Society, to whom the case was referred, reported unfavourably. It seemed that the man, who had been a widower since 1877, had been living with some woman and had taken to drink. He was seen drunk by the relieving officer a few weeks later. Thereupon he applied for admission, saying he had only earned 12s since he left the house. He applied again twice in 1884, suffering always from rheumatism. Further applications were made in 1886, and, finally, in 1888 he was admitted, and has remained in the house ever since.

Of the two younger daughters, both married, we know nothing but the names. The eldest, born 1824, married John York. She had nine or ten children, and is now dead. Her husband, age seventy-eight, is in Bromley Workhouse. His first admission was to the sick asylum in 1887, before his wife's death, and after his discharge he entered the workhouse, and remained there a year. While he was there his wife died. She had medical attendance. When the man came out he went for a time to the house of one of his sons. He was a wood-chopper by trade.

There are two of John York's sons in the army, and four are wood-choppers like their father, three of these being married. There is another married son, whose mother-in-law had medical relief, but she was living with a son of her own at the time. One of John York's daughters, Sarah, married Richard Sand, and he was prosecuted for neglecting to maintain her, but the prosecution failed, as he was able to prove adultery against her. The other daughter, Eliza, born 1845, is married to Frederick Darcy, and has five children. She applied for relief in 1884, and was subsequently sent to Bromley Workhouse. Darcy, a thorough blackguard, only works to spend the money on drink. When his wife asks for any he tells her to go on the streets, and he behaves brutally to his children.

John York had a brother who was born in 1827. He too was a wood-chopper. In 1884 he had medicine, and was afterwards admitted to Poplar Workhouse. He had done no work for three weeks. In 1886 he was admitted to Bromley House; he could not work through weakness, and has since died.

There was also a sister Rebecca, who married a man named Lord, and their son John, a general labourer with several children, is on our list. His wife came in 1884, saying that her boy John had smallpox. He was removed to the Smallpox Hospital, and two days later his sister Margaret was also taken there. She died. In 1888 Mrs. Lord applied for medicine for her husband, who was ill. The relieving officer visited them, and offered admission to the sick asylum. He reported that the home and children were very dirty, and a neighbouring shopkeeper described the family as "a dirty drunken lot, always hard up." Mrs. Lord did trouser-work.

John Lord's brother, Theodore, is a dock labourer, and married Maria Cramp. They have two children, and the wife applied in 1887, saying that the little boy was ill, she thought, with fever. Her husband had only received 3s 6d during the week. The child died four days later. Early in 1888 she applied for medicine for the other child, and in July for medicine for herself. Her husband then had not worked for a week. There has been no further application. A shopkeeper stated that this man and his relations drink too much.

Uriah Cramp, Maria's father, is a dock labourer, fifty-five years old. His wife applied for medical aid in 1887. Her husband had fallen down at work two weeks before, and had been treated at the hospital, but could go there no longer. He had medicine for two or three months. Next year his wife asked for medicine for herself. She said her husband had done no work for twenty-one months. Her sons helped a little, and she did canvas work. In 1889

Cramp was sent to the sick asylum. The Cramps had a number of children. Seth, the eldest, born 1857, and not married, worked irregularly at fish-curing. Having a bad leg he applied for medical relief. Maria was a year younger than Seth, and then came Ellen, born in 1860. She was living with her parents in 1890, when she applied for admission. She was in labour, and her mother refused to allow her to remain at home. It was her second child, and she did not know who the father was. She had been drunk. She was sent to Poplar Workhouse, where her child was born. It died two months later, and was buried by the parish.

Besides Maria, Seth, and Ellen, there were three more sons and three more daughters—some married and some not, one of them in America, none of them asking relief.

Uriah Cramp's wife was Kate Ryley, whose brother Joshua brings us to the story of Sarah Jane Bishop.

Ryley himself, a man of forty-three, is a corn-porter. He applied in 1880 for medical attendance, and was then living in a common lodging-house. In 1881 he was again ill, and was sent to the sick asylum. Later the same year he came again; he had fallen downstairs, sprained his arm and bruised his face. He was sent to Bromley House. In 1885 he had a similar accident, "slipped down in the street." He suffers also from chest disease, spitting blood, and appears to have got worse, as in 1888 there were two applications, and he was in the sick asylum for a month in the winter of 1888-89.

Sarah Bishop met Ryley in the workhouse. She is reported as hardly responsible. She had been passed to Stepney from Bethnal Green in 1877, being then twenty-three years old. She had had one child then. Ryley is the father of her other children, all of whom were born in the workhouse, and one died there. She and her four children are regularly chargeable, but every autumn she goes hop-picking, and Ryley accompanies her.

*Reuben Green and his Children.*

Reuben Green, born in 1816, was a shoe-black, and seems to have needed no personal relief till 1880, when he was sixty-four. He then applied for admission, saying that he could not support himself. His wife, a year younger than himself, earned 9s at bottle-washing. He was not admitted till the following winter, when he was in for a few months. During 1882 he had medicines, and came into the house again in November. Every winter it was the same; November saw him in the house. His wife meanwhile continued to keep herself by bottle-washing. He died about 1885. In February, 1889, old Mrs. Green, then seventy-two, was admitted to the sick asylum, having met with an accident, and after two months' treatment was transferred to Bromley House, where she now resides.

This old couple, harmless enough themselves, are at the root of a very flourishing pauper tree. They had five children—three girls and two boys—whose history is as follows :

Sarah, the youngest, born 1856, married George Harper, a dust carman, and had five children (again three girls and two boys) : the second girl died at two years old, and the twins, who came last, only lived a few months. The children seem to have been continually ill, and medicine was frequently applied for. The Union buried the little girl in 1885, and the second of the twins, the father's means having been exhausted by burying the twin that died first. The man's work was uncertain till 1887, when he obtained a regular job at 20s a week, and no further applications have been made. He is reported sober and industrious, but may have been too ready to apply to the parish. His brother, Thomas Harper, was in the sick asylum in 1881; and both his sisters, married women, are known at the Relief Office.

Eliza, born in 1855, is reported as a little "queer in

the head," and has probably never been able to do much for herself. She was living with her parents in 1878 when the record begins with an application for readmission to Poplar Workhouse, which was granted. She came out because "she could not pick the oakum." She had before been in the sick asylum and at Bromley, and wanted to get back to the sick asylum. She passes from one institution to another according to her state of health, spending most of her life in this way.

Reuben Green, the younger, born in 1852, was a dock labourer, and in 1886 married a woman with whom he had then lived for several years, and who had been a factory hand. They had several children, but all of them died. The man had medicine in 1884 and 1887, and the woman in 1888 and 1889. They seem to have no other relief: the man's work is irregular.

Thomas Green, born in 1850, was a tank-maker. He married early a girl whose mother was known to the Guardians, and had seven children. The first application recorded is in 1879, for medical attendance for his third child. He had been out of work two months. From that time till 1888 there were continuous applications for medical aid to wife and children. Mrs. Green was attended in two confinements. The man never seems to be in regular work and the woman drinks. The Charity Organization Society rejected the case because of the woman's bad character, and that of the man. In 1886 the man and four children were admitted to the workhouse.

Mary, the eldest, born 1884, is the most unsatisfactory of all. Her first appearance was in 1879, when old Reuben, her father, asked to have her admitted "as she was dying." She no doubt hoped for the sick asylum, but was sent to Bromley Workhouse, and immediately took her discharge. In 1881 she seems to have formed a connection with Henry Coleman, a dock labourer, eleven years older than herself, and with him she has lived off and on ever

since. In 1884 she suffered from rheumatism and asked for medicine. In 1885 she had medicine, and again in 1886, and from then to the present time nearly every month there has been an application and medicine given for "four weeks more." Coleman himself had medical attendance in 1889, and died a few days after. He was buried by the Union—cost, £1. 13s 6d. There was a daughter, Jane, born in 1868, as to whose father nothing is said. This girl's history finishes that of the Green family, and is the connecting link with that of the Blundells, into which she married. Sam Blundell, her husband, born in 1863, was a carman, but only earned 15s a week. Jane's mother applied for medical attendance for her daughter in 1888, and the order was given. The relieving officer's note speaks of these people as a "wretched lot." There are two little children. Jane herself worked as a factory hand.

Blundell's father is in Bromley Workhouse. He was born 1828, and was a carter. His wife, born 1831, worked in the dustyard. They had a number of children born between 1853 and 1875. The man worked for one firm as a carman for forty-five years, receiving 15s a week and perquisites. He asked for medicine in 1882. His home was described as a most filthy place. Later he was sent to the sick asylum. His wife was in liquor when she asked for his admission. During 1864, 1865, 1866, and 1867, the man was ill at intervals. He had medical attendance, and on one occasion went into the house. He did not do much work, and the home was maintained by his wife, and his son John, who may be assumed to be the respectable member of the family, as no more is heard of him. In 1888 the old man asked to be admitted, and in the autumn he entered the house at Poplar. He was transferred to Bromley in 1889, absented himself for a week at Easter, was readmitted, and there remained when this account of him was written.

The Blundells' eldest daughter, Elizabeth, born 1853,

married a dust carman, and was a widow in 1878, with two young children. She had medicine for one of them in 1879, and herself died in 1881. The children now live with their grandmother.

The second daughter, Clara, born 1856, cohabited with, and afterwards married, Thomas Parr. A child of this couple, born before they were married, died in the Children's Hospital in 1878. The mother brought the body home, but the man refused to bury it, and for the time left her. This woman had medical attendance in 1879.

Of another daughter, Caroline, we happily know nothing except that she married. Joan, the next in order, born 1862, married James Bunting, a coal-tank filler, and had two children. In 1889 she had medicine for the baby. Her husband was looking for work. He had lost his tank-filling job through a strike four years previously, and had worked in the docks since. Samuel, the next, is the man already described who married Mary Green's daughter; and there are two younger boys, born 1873 and 1875, employed at wood-chopping.

Even here the record does not end. The elder Blundell had a brother, and this man's son Robert, born 1841, a dock labourer, we hear of. He had a wife and four children, and his wife asked to be admitted to the infirmary, having a breaking out under her arm. Both man and wife are dirty and drunken.

### *The Rowley Family.*

Jane Rowley, born in 1844, has been in Poplar or Bromley Workhouse since 1877. At that time, when thirty-three years of age, she was brought from her parents' home, where she had been for eight days, ill. She had been a servant at a coffee-house in Leman Street, and was there seduced by a sailor. She was confined of a still-born child in the workhouse three months later, and appears to have been chargeable ever since. She is of weak intellect.

We know something also of her people. Her father, born in 1812, was "well off at one time," but became a dock labourer. In June, 1877, he applied for admission to the sick asylum, which seems to have been refused, for in September he was admitted to the workhouse through destitution. The family were described as a thriftless lot, both father and son drinking too much. The old man died in the sick asylum in November, 1877. After his death, the wife, mother of Jane Rowley, lived with her two sons, and in 1878 applied for out-relief, saying that John was out of work. Subsequently she admitted that she applied because her sons wanted to get her into the workhouse, and had agreed to turn her out, but her landlady would not let them. The relieving officer visited, and found Mrs. Rowley having tea with her son George, while John was in bed—time 3 P.M. Later in the year she applied for admission to the house; and visiting two days after, the relieving officer learnt that she had come home from the Relieving Office so drunk as not to be able to stand, and had sold her furniture, so that there was no home for the son when he returned. She died in the sick asylum in 1882. Of the two sons we know that George, born in 1844, was in the Royal Artillery, but was discharged paralyzed, with a pension of sixpence a day—a drunken good-for-nothing. On April 1st, 1878, he drew his pension, amounting to £2. 5s, and on April 4th applied for admission. He did the same thing in October, 1882. John, born 1851, was a dock labourer. In May, 1889, he applied for relief. He was then living in a common lodging-house. He had fallen down and cut his head, and he could get no work. He was admitted to Poplar Workhouse. In May, 1890, he fell again and injured his arm, and was sent to Bromley Workhouse. There is also a sister, the eldest, born in 1837, who is married to a painter, and has six children, as to whom happily there is no information in the books, but they are living in Mile End Old Town, and may be claiming public assistance there.



*A Family who are continually ailing.*

Mrs. Draper, born in 1813, is a widow who was a lint-maker. She appears first in 1880, when she obtained medicine. She was then living in St. Anne's Place, where she shared a room with another old woman. In 1881 she went into the sick asylum and afterwards into Poplar Workhouse. Her sons did not help her. She is said to be addicted to drink and quarrelsome. In 1883 she came out of the house and lived with her married daughter for a year, when she went into the Bromley House. She has been chargeable since with the exception of short periods, when she lives with her daughter. Her eldest son Robert, born 1840, died in 1887, leaving a widow and five children. The first application from Robert Draper's family was in 1878, when the eldest girl, then fourteen, had smallpox and was sent to Homerton. The next, in 1880, was for medical attendance on a little boy who died. The husband was a coal-worker and could earn £3 a week; he lost his work by going on strike, and on this ground private assistance was refused. Both man and woman drank heavily. There were several applications for medicine up to 1883, and then no more until after the husband's death. He was killed by a piece of coal falling on him. The widow then had two of her children admitted to Bromley Workhouse, and they were sent to the schools. The woman has bad eyes and also suffered from pleurisy. She had medical attendance and was received into the sick asylum for two or three weeks in 1888. Her eldest child, a girl, born 1864, is at service; the second, born 1868, married a coal labourer. Of the third, born 1871, nothing is said. Of the boys, one died and the two youngest are the children at school.

The second son James, born 1845, also a coal-worker, is married, and has six children. The first application was in 1880 for medical attendance on the wife. The man was in irregular work. In 1881 both man and wife had

medicines, and afterwards there were repeated applications from the woman and children, especially one of them, who seemed to be continually ailing. In 1886 the man, having bad legs, applied for the sick asylum. The eldest girl became a stay-maker, and the son got work at a wharf. This family absorb a great deal of medicine. On the first time of applying enough was given for six days, but in two days more was asked for.

Fanny, the eldest girl, born 1852, went to service, and has never married. She came home in 1880 and had medical attendance. The youngest girl, Martha, married Philip Mole, a general labourer. They had three children between 1883 and 1886, but two of them died in 1887. Medicine for the wife was asked in 1884, and since then repeated applications have been made on behalf of the children or the wife.

### *The Bennetts.*

Mrs. Bennett is a widow and blind, and seventy-three years old. While her husband lived she and he hawked bath-bricks and hearthstone, and earned about 6s a week. In December, 1884, she asked for medicine for her husband, and the doctor's order was renewed in January, 1885. In February he grew worse, and when visited was found very ill in a small and dirty ill-smelling room with bed on floor. He died before he could be moved to the sick asylum. In May the widow asked for admission to the house. She looked ill, dirty, and miserable. She was admitted at Bromley.

There were two sons and two daughters of this old pair. Of the eldest son nothing had been heard for fifteen years. The younger one, Edward, married Mary Byrne, who was working at Bryant and May's in 1887. She "poisoned her system," and applied for admission to the sick asylum. The relieving officer made a note as to the Byrne family that he had known them as paupers for many years.

Edward Bennett's children were taken by force and sent to the schools, and about the same time the wife died from neglect. The man then came to demand his children, but was refused. Later one of the girls found a place and the others were given up to their father. The girl came home and they all lived in one room. She misbehaved, and was in the hospital in consequence, and her father took up with a married woman called Weston in 1876. Mrs. Bennett had four brothers, three married and one single. The wife of one of them was admitted to the sick asylum in 1886, and died there two days later. This woman applied several times for medical relief for her husband, who had an ulcerated leg. When she made application in 1881 she and her husband were living in one room with the parents on both sides, Mr. and Mrs. Bennett and Mr. and Mrs. Byrne, and a young woman named Molly Carpenter lived there also.

Of Mrs. Bennett's two daughters, Margaret married a Mr. Meadows, a coal and coke contractor, and has five children: and Charlotte married Robert Bird, a ship's carpenter, by whom she had four children. Since 1874 Mrs. Bird has been living with another man, and has had two children by him, as well as one still-born buried by the parish. This second man was doing nothing, a lazy drunken fellow, who lived on his wife. She did trouser-work.

### *A Docker and his Relations.*

Edward Smallfield, born 1819, was in the employ of the East and West India Dock Company for thirty-four years as a permanent labourer, but had to leave the permanent staff on account of age, and became a casual hand. The company gave him £25, paying the money through the Charity Organization Society in small weekly payments. The man bore a good character for industry and respectability. He appears to have left the permanent dock staff

in 1879. In September, 1881, he applied for medical aid for his wife, and in January, 1883, he was himself admitted to Bromley Workhouse. The wife had medical aid in 1884 and 1885. In August, 1885, the man came out and went hop-picking. In October the wife went into the sick asylum. She was suffering from ulcerated legs. In January, 1886, the man re-entered Bromley House, and remained there till the summer, and since then has spent more than half his time in the house. The wife had had medical relief at intervals. She is only two years younger than he is. They have two sons (the elder is a dock labourer, married, with two children, the younger is a boiler-cleaner) and one daughter, but she is not in England. The children seem to do nothing for their parents.

Mrs. Smallfield's maiden name was Granby, and her brother Stephen is not a very creditable person. He frequently deserts his wife and family, who have consequently had to ask relief. He was away at one time for seven years, then remained with them nine months, and again absented himself for three years. His wife, meanwhile, was supported by her children, and has applied more than once for medical aid. There are four children, all grown up. The eldest is a sailor, born 1855, and married now. He was in the sick asylum in 1883. The second son was ill and had medicine in 1880, and after a seven months' illness was sent to the sick asylum in April, 1887. He came out in July, but was readmitted in October. The other two are girls, one born 1863, the other 1869. This youngest girl had smallpox in 1882, and was sent to the ship *Atlas*. In 1886 she was sent to Bromley Workhouse suffering from rheumatics. She is very delicate, and supported by her brother. The whole family occupy one room.

There is an aunt of Stephen Granby on the books. She was born 1818, and is a widow. Her late husband, Dennis Granby, was a tailor, and was admitted to the sick asylum

in 1879, from which time, till his death in 1882, he appears to have been chargeable. After her husband went into the asylum she lived with her niece, Mrs. Stephen Granby, and was admitted from their house to Bromley Workhouse in 1882. She has been in and out, the last admission being in 1888, and she is now in the sick asylum suffering from debility. She was a tailoress, and used to work with her husband. This old couple had three children, one a son, born 1838, and said to be in Australia, and two daughters, both of whom have married and left London.

*Mr. and Mrs. Gardner.*

Thomas Gardner, having two sons by a previous wife, married a woman with two children, and they themselves had a daughter. All the children are married, and the parents were sixty-seven and sixty-one years old in 1889. The man's two sons married sisters, the daughters of James and Catherine Cavanagh, who with their other children and connections are described later on. Thomas Gardner himself asked to be admitted to the sick asylum in 1879, having had an accident on board ship. He was a ballast-heaver. Was offered the workhouse, but refused. He and his wife had kept a greengrocer's shop, but not having money for stock, closed it. It seems they both drank. Mrs. Hill, the woman's daughter, said her stepfather was a drunken man, who would not work while her mother could keep him by the shop. The woman bears no better character, and Mrs. Hill admitted that her husband would not allow Mrs. Gardner to live with them. From this time the man led a wandering life, sleeping in lodging-houses or in barges when not in the workhouse. There are sixteen subsequent applications for admission, the last being in September, 1888. He was sometimes sent to Bromley and sometimes to Poplar Workhouse. The wife had medicine in 1887 and 1888, and three times in 1889. She works at rag-picking.

Of the child of this couple, we only know that she married, as did Mrs. Gardner's two children, without leaving any traces of themselves on the relief books.

It is otherwise with Gardner's two sons, who married Maria and Jane Cavanagh. The younger of the two, a ship's fireman, had two children, and their mother applied in 1885 for medical attendance, her husband being then on a voyage to New Zealand. He died in July, 1888, and his wife buried him with £4 saved and £3 collected. She had worked at the jam works, but in 1889, having had no work for a fortnight, and being ill, she applied for medicine. She lived in one room, paying 1s 9d.

The old Cavanaghs—parents of Maria and Jane—kept a general shop, and had seven daughters, all of whom married, and two of whom, besides Jane Cavanagh, applied for relief.

## CHAPTER IV.

### A PICTURE OF PAUPERISM (*continued*).

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#### FIFTY SHORT STORIES ILLUSTRATING THE PRINCIPAL CAUSES OF PAUPERISM.

*Crime, Drink, and Sickness.*—John and Samuel Tunstall, children aged four and five years, are in the sick asylum suffering from varicella and ophthalmia. Their father, thirty-five, frequently ill-treated his wife. Besides the two boys there are two girls, aged respectively seventeen and eleven, and a baby. In 1877 the eldest girl was in Walthamstow Roman Catholic schools for six months, while the father was in prison for assaulting his wife. In 1881 the man was ill, had medicine, was admitted to Poplar Workhouse, and subsequently sent to Bethnal House Asylum. He had been drinking heavily. There are no further applications till May, 1887, the man being then in prison for attempted felony; in July the woman, who had gone to live with her father, got two of the children into the workhouse. In the following October he had “two months” for assaulting his wife. The children were taken out at Christmas, 1887, to join the family circle. In the following December, however, there was no family gathering, as the man was again sent to prison, and the boys were admitted to Brömley Workhouse, where they remained till January, 1889, when they were sent to the sick asylum. In March the woman had medicine for the baby. The man is by trade a wine-cooper, or wine-cooper’s labourer. His wife works at bottle-washing. Her father, Thomas Murphy, an old man of seventy-one, with whom she lived while her husband was in prison, had medical attendance for a bad leg in 1888, and was afterwards admitted to the sick asylum.

*Crime, Loss of Character, Old Age.*—Henry Abbott, age seventy-eight, was a mathematical instrument maker. In 1875 he was sentenced to two years' hard labour for an assault on a child, and while he was in prison his wife was admitted to Poplar Workhouse, and died in the sick asylum in 1877. The man first became chargeable in June, 1878, and applied for readmission, being destitute, in October of that year. He left again in August, 1879, to go hopping. He had a few shillings given him for keeping the gate at Bromley, and had earned 13s 2d. He walked back from the hop grounds as far as Tunbridge, then took train to London, and was readmitted. He came out in 1880 and 1881, and each year since he has taken his discharge on or about August 25th, enjoyed a holiday in the hop-grounds, and applied for readmission about the first week in October. He has no known relatives.

*Drink.*—Samuel Milton, a married man, was born in 1838, his wife was born in 1840, and they have eight children, who in 1889 were from nine to seventeen years of age. The wife has a brother married and living at some distance, and the man a sister, also married, living in an adjoining parish, who has herself nine children. Milton is a pattern-maker. In October, 1880, the wife applied for medicines, and said her husband had only done two months' work in the past two years. In December, 1884, the man was admitted to Poplar Workhouse. His family had taken advantage of his temporary absence to get away from him, and he did not know where they were gone. He acknowledged that he had lost work through drink, and independent testimony dubs him "a confirmed drunkard." He has been in and out of the workhouse ever since.

*Drink.*—John Hunt, age sixty-eight, applied for admission in December, 1877, late in the evening, being destitute. He had been a custom-house officer for twenty-seven years, but had been dismissed in 1873, for drunkenness he said. It turned out afterwards that the actual cause of dismissal



was larceny, for which he suffered two months' imprisonment. For two and a half out of the four years he, or probably his wife, kept a lodging-house, paying £40 a year and taxes. They left in October, 1877, sold up under a bill of sale, and since then had been living in coffee-houses and such places. His wife had left him three weeks before. She now lives with her mother or brother. Her people are very respectable, as are his children. In 1879, having been out again meanwhile, he applied for admission to sick asylum, but was referred to St. George's, as then living in that Union. In November, 1881, he again applied for admission, coming from a common lodging-house. For eighteen months previous he had been staying at the St. Giles' Christian Mission-house, but was at last given up as hopeless. He was admitted, and has been chargeable ever since. In 1885 he was in the sick asylum with paralysis. He says he was all right till two years before he was dismissed from the Customs, and attributes all his trouble to brandy and port wine, which gradually got over him. He would drink now if he could get it.

*Drink, Pauper Associations, Sickness.*—Terence Corcoran, a dock labourer, unmarried, age fifty-one, met with an accident, and was found by the relieving officer lying on some sacking on a bed in a very dirty room. He had been drinking heavily, and acknowledged that he was ill because of this. All he earned was spent at public-houses. His father, born 1805, was admitted to Bromley Workhouse in 1879, through an accident supposed to have been caused by drink. The old man had done no work for five years then, having lived for eleven years with his son; he lived five years longer, and died in the sick asylum in 1884. Terence's aunt, Bridget, a widow woman, and his uncle, also called Terence, both have relief in a neighbouring parish. Her sister, Mrs. Thompson, a widow, by trade a tailoress, was in Poplar Workhouse in 1882. She has two daughters, ages twenty-six and twenty-one, one having

been born before her marriage. They have had medicine at intervals while out of the house. Mrs. Thompson is described as a "drunken, abusive woman."

*Drink and Misconduct.*—Isaac Brown, age sixty-one, has been a widower since 1884. In 1878 his wife applied for relief, stating that her husband had ill-used her; he had only given her 4s 6d in six weeks, and nailed up door and windows to keep her out, because she spoke to him about his conduct with his own daughter. She also said he was a great drinker. She took a little herself, but "it made her silly." She had slept in the streets or walked about for several nights. Neighbours said she was to blame for drinking, but believed the accusation against her husband to be true. The daughter said she let her mother in, but her father turned her out again. The man, working as a coal-backer, agreed to pay for his wife's maintenance. In October, 1887, the man applied. He was then homeless, and had only had casual jobs for three months. "If I had been careful," he said, "I might have had enough to keep me now." He was sent to Bromley Workhouse, and afterwards to Poplar, to West Ham, and back to Bromley, being in one or other house most of the time. The daughter referred to, born in 1860, applied for relief in November, 1880. She had been on the streets a year, and expected to be confined every hour. She was admitted, and came out in December, for a day, to see her brother, who was said to be dying. Three years later the landlady of the house this girl then lived at asked for her admission, and she was sent to the sick asylum suffering from syphilis. Her child is in Dr. Barnardo's homes.

*Drink, Extravagance, and Bad Character.*—Henry Turner, born 1811, widower since 1875, had been mate of a vessel, and then for twenty-three years a Channel pilot. In 1873 he was in the workhouse for a month with his wife, and in April, 1878, applied for relief, saying he could not do his work through age. He had not had a ship for two weeks,

but subsequently admitted having earned £16 between February 6th and April 16th, by piloting three ships. The relieving officer saw him coming out of a public-house before he applied for relief, and his landlady gave him the worst of characters—a dissipated old whoremonger, she said. He was earning above £120 a year, and at one time could make £300 a year. He refused the offer of the house. In January, 1880, the relieving officer saw this man drunk and disorderly in a public-house. In June, 1882, he applied again. He had had no work for two months. He had run a ship ashore and could get no more employment. Owed £2 rent. Was admitted to Bromley Workhouse.

*Drink, Extravagance, and Bad Management.*—John Matthews, age seventy-eight, has been a widower since 1882. The wife applied for her husband's admission to the sick asylum at the end of 1879. She said they had kept a greengrocer's shop in Millwall for some years, but lost by it over £60. They then opened a small shop in Limehouse Causeway, and failed there too, when they moved again and let lodgings. Until four years ago they had kept a pony, and used to go to the docks for the sailors. They were now very poor. Their lodgers had cheated them out of £12. Matthews was sent to the sick asylum. In March, 1880, the man, being then out again, was reported as ill and visited by the relieving officer. He was found to be suffering from the effects of drink, having been drinking fourteen days, eating hardly anything. He was sent to Bromley Workhouse. Six days later his wife said she had been turned out of her house, and the furniture taken for rent. She also was sent to the house, and died in the sick asylum. The man came out for a month or two in the summer of 1882 and 1883, but has not left at all since May, 1885. He had a daughter by a previous marriage (herself married and living at Deptford), and has a brother and two sisters still living in the country place from which he came to London.

*Drink and Lack of Work.*—Patrick M'Carthy, age sixty-five, was a stevedore, and his wife, age sixty, made sacks. They have two sons. One, age twenty-four, is epileptic, and was admitted to Poplar Workhouse in 1888; the other, thirty-five, also a stevedore, is married, and has five children. And there are four daughters, from twenty-two to forty years of age, all married, three of them to brick-makers, the eldest having a family of eight children; the fourth and her husband are in America. The man M'Carthy has a sister, who is a widow with four children. One of her sons, age thirty-three, applied for relief, having toothache and swelled face, and was referred to the hospital. Mrs. M'Carthy has a brother and sister, both of whom have children; the sister is a widow. All these people are presumably poor.

Mrs. M'Carthy came in September, 1882, saying that her husband in a drunken brawl had been knocked off a ladder and hurt. He was drinking with his son Tom, his son's wife, and some friends. He had been out of work for some time, but did a day's work on the previous day. He went to the sick asylum. In July, 1887, he asked to be admitted, as he could not get work. In August the wife asked for a loan of 20s, so that she might go hopping. In October the man, asking for readmission, said that his wife would live with the youngest daughter. He was admitted, but came out in May, 1888, and went to his daughter's to try for work on the brickfields. He was readmitted September 12th, and transferred to Bromley Workhouse on September 21st, settling down into infirmity with old age.

*Drink and Illness.*—Edward Sand, age sixty-nine, widower since 1874, by trade a carpenter, applied in July, 1883, being then totally disabled by paralysis. The relieving officer visited him in the house where he had lodged for over twelve years, and where he owed thirty weeks' rent (£3), the landlord having been very kind. The landlord said he had been a great drinker, often

drinking instead of eating, and latterly he had not had much food through earning little. He was admitted to Bromley, and came out (for five days only) in April, but getting no work he was readmitted. He was not in any club. His relatives—a brother and sister, still living in Essex—seem respectable elderly people. He had no children.

*Drunken Wife—Old Age.*—George Farmer, age eighty-three, applied for relief first in 1885 (being then seventy-nine), and having lived forty-six years at the same address. He had married his second wife eight years previously, and she seems to have dragged him down. He had been a coal-whipper and timber-rafter in his younger days, but for the last twenty years had been working chiefly as a ship's dealer. Had only saved money enough for stock, and that was now gone. Did not belong to a club, but said he had tried to save for sickness. Relieving officer found rooms clean and fairly furnished. The man was reported steady and hard-working; wife suspected of drinking. Man was admitted to Bromley Workhouse. In 1886 he was readmitted, being ill. He again applied in 1888, saying he had only had two months' work out of eleven; was readmitted, and has not been out since. His wife during this time had an allowance through the Charity Organization Society of 4s 8d a week. This was finally stopped, and she was admitted to Bromley Workhouse in January, 1889. Her home and character were alike deplorable, and it was useless to give her money, for she drank it away. The woman's children by a former marriage were very respectable, and it was from them through the Charity Organization Society that the allowance came.

*Laziness and Drink.*—Richard Waterhouse was in the workhouse with his wife previous to 1877, and his wife died there. He was born in 1815, and was by trade nominally a rigger, but had really been a crimp, and kept

a sailor's boarding-house. He preferred drinking to working. When he applied for admission in July, 1877, he had not worked for many years at his trade, and for five months past had been working and sleeping in a stable. He did not then go into the workhouse, but appears to have returned to his stable, the owner of which allowed him to sleep there for twelve months, and gave him a few coppers and his Sunday dinner. The owner of the stable, from whom inquiry was made, said it was useless to give Waterhouse money for food, as he would spend it on beer and tobacco. "He won't work if he can avoid it." He was offered two days' light work in Wapping, but refused. Said he would not work under price, which ought to be 7s 6d a day. The next application was in 1883, when the owner came and reported that a man in his yard was ill. Waterhouse was then sent to Bromley Workhouse, but was soon out again, only to be readmitted, and since 1885 he has not been out.

*Heredity.*—Martha Brady, the mother of Bridget Brady, and grandmother of Jane Brady, and of a second Bridget, was born in 1810. The history of this family goes back beyond our records. The first entry is of Martha Brady, asking in June, 1877, for readmission to Bromley Workhouse. She was a nurse, and had been out to nurse a lady. She was mostly in the workhouse, but came out in 1877, 1879, 1880, and 1884 to get work. She was in the sick asylum for a while in 1883. Her daughter Bridget was in the workhouse when the books were commenced, and we know nothing of her except what may be gathered from the fact that her two illegitimate daughters (Mary and Bridget the younger) were in the Roman Catholic schools; the eldest was sent to service at Hackney in 1883. Their mother only left the workhouse once after thirteen years' continuous residence, and that was to try and find her children. She was unsuccessful, and was readmitted. It is to be hoped that timely separation may have rescued them from pauperism.

*Desertion and Immorality.*—Janet Porter, born 1849, was married twice, first to a man in Australia, by whom she had a child, born 1871, and left with its grandmother in New Zealand. Her second husband, Porter, was a ship's steward, and he deserted her eight years before her first application in 1888. She supported herself in various ways from 1880 to 1885, when she went on the streets. When applying for relief she was suffering from a bad leg, and was sent to Poplar Workhouse. She had been living with another woman, no better, it was said, than herself. In October she applied again, having spent meanwhile three months in the sick asylum, where she had been sent from Poplar. The rest of the time she had been living at a brothel, of which the address is given. She had been following her usual life, and her leg was bad again. She was sent to Poplar, and again transferred to the sick asylum, where she remained till January, 1889, and was admitted to Bromley Workhouse ten days later from the same address.

*Blindness, Widowhood, Neglected by Children.*—Elizabeth Compton is a widow, and blind; she was born in 1836. There are four sons—Michael, William, Dennis, and Daniel—who, owing to the death of their father, were all brought up in the parish schools. The first entry in the books is an application in 1881 to have home her youngest son, Daniel, who was then fourteen; he had been on the *Exmouth*, and apprenticed to the sea, but had run away from the ship. He had then been sent to the band of the 49th regiment. "She did not wish him to be a soldier." This application was refused. At this time she was living in one room (rent 2s 6d), and her three elder sons with her, they being twenty-five, twenty-three, and seventeen years old. Michael and William were stevedore labourers, and Dennis was a boiler-cleaner. Early in 1883 the woman stated that Michael and Dennis had left her as stowaways. William meanwhile was married, and had one

child, but she did not know where he lived. She was destitute, and had been turned out of her room. The relieving officer visited, and found her sitting in a state of squalor. She was admitted to Bromley Workhouse. She went out in 1884 and 1888 to see her son Daniel. In 1888 the other three were all abroad.

*Immorality, Unhealthy Trade, Sickness.*—Martha King, born in 1858, worked at a lead factory, and has suffered from lead-poisoning. As early as 1879 she was admitted to workhouse ill, and since that time there have been many applications for medicine and other relief. She is not married, but has had two illegitimate children, one of whom was born in St. George's Workhouse, and died a few months later in Bromley Workhouse. When applying for admission at Bromley with this child, the woman said she had been staying with her mother, who, when asked, said she had seen nothing of her daughter. The older child, who had been left with her grandmother, was now brought by the grandmother to the workhouse, she refusing to have anything more to do with her discreditable daughter. The name of the father of the child was given. He seemed to have no means. On leaving the sick asylum, there was nothing for this woman but to enter at Poplar.

*Sickness.*—John Holmes, age thirty-six, and married, was assistant in a stationer's shop. He suffered from paralysis, and applied in 1888, asking to be sent to the sick asylum. He had not worked for eighteen months, but was a member of the "Hearts of Oak" and of the "Phoenix," and from them had 18s a week for six months, and 9s a week for six months more. He had also a pension of 4s a week. His wife did shirt work, but was herself ill. There were three children, thirteen, nine, and five years old. The Charity Organization Society had helped them. The man was admitted, but discharged not cured, and applied for readmission. Again admitted, he was discharged a second time in July, and the next day applied for admission to



Bromley House, which was granted. Both man and wife bear an excellent character as decent, sober people. The Charity Organization Society allowed the wife 11s a week for several weeks, and sent her to a convalescent home. She and the children keep on the house, in which the family have lived for nine years, and let lodgings. She also works for a shirt factory. Holmes has a brother, who is a commercial traveller, with three children; and the wife has also a brother, who is a general labourer, and has one child.

*Lack of Work, Sickness, and Great Poverty.*—George White, age sixty-three, applied for relief first in January, 1879, saying that his wife had had nothing to eat for three days. He was a general labourer, and did ship-keeping sometimes, but had had no work since Christmas, when he finished three weeks' work at 21s a week. The relieving officer visited, and found the woman in a starving condition. They had one room at 2s 6d a week, and owed 5s rent. A woman in the house said Mrs. White had had no food except what she had given her, and had become so weak that she could not clean herself or the room. The woman was admitted to the sick asylum, and the Charity Organization Society allowed the man 4s a week for a short time. In 1882 White asked for medicine for his wife. He was in arrears with his rent. In 1884 Mrs. White again went into the sick asylum; her husband had earned 6s the week before. In 1885 the man reported his wife as being very ill, and she was found to be in a wretched state, lying on a dirty bed on the floor. The landlady says the man neglects his wife and drinks too much. Mrs. White was sent to the sick asylum, and her husband ordered to pay 2s 6d a week; and from this time she has been permanently chargeable either there or at Bromley. She was then sixty-two years old. White was summoned for neglecting to pay the 2s 6d, but the case was dismissed. There was a second summons, which was evaded till February, 1886, and he then himself applied for admission, being homeless.

His landlady had seized his things for rent, 30s being due. He had done no work since Christmas. He was admitted ; but next year was sent to prison for misconducting himself in the workhouse. In June, 1888, he was out fourteen days trying to get work.

*Lack of Work, Lack of Food, Mental Incapacity.*—Newton Swain applied for relief in July, 1886, being then fifty-six years old. He had been a scavenger, and had worked in St. George's-in-the-East for three years, but had had no work for three months, being thrown out by a change in the system. He had saved some money, but it was all gone, and he had pawned his goods. He had rheumatics, and asked to go into the sick asylum. His home was nicely furnished and clean. He had a wife, nine years younger than himself, and five children at home, besides two girls in service and one married. One of the children earned 7s or 8s a week. His wife attributed the man's illness to shortness of food, being out of employment. He was only in the asylum four days, and on coming out employment was found for him on the roads at Stepney, but he seemed half-crazed. He lost himself in the dinner-hour, and could not remember one day where he had worked the day before. In the spring of 1887 he went into the workhouse with four children, his wife remaining out with the one that earned something. Later in the year he came out, and got employment distributing handbills. The handbills were of an indecent description, and he was locked up for a month. Coming out of prison he was readmitted, and finally died in 1890.

*Widowhood, Mental Infirmary.*—Mrs. Park, age thirty-six, formerly a servant and needlewoman, and now in a lunatic asylum, lost her husband in 1884. He had been a labourer, and died at Enfield. He was a member of a club, and his wife received £6. 10s at his death. She was totally incapable of earning her own living, and even before her husband's death was unfit to take care of her children.

The woman who came with her to the Relief Office said she had threatened to starve herself and make away with the children. She was admitted to the workhouse, and afterwards transferred to Colney Hatch. Her three children are in the schools.

*Trade Misfortune, Widowhood, and Large Family.*—Mrs. Phillips, born 1847, was left a widow in 1886, with eight children, and in 1887 applied for medical assistance for the youngest, a baby, born after Mr. Phillips's death. Her husband had been a shoe-maker, but had failed in business, and had been ill seven months, during which time he had had 10s a week from his club, which also gave £9. 12s at death. The funeral cost nearly £6. In January, 1888, Mrs. Phillips obtained medical aid for herself, and she came again in April. She had had some charring at the parish schools, but that had ceased. Her eldest son (eighteen) had gone for a soldier, the eldest girl (fifteen) was earning 4s 9d labelling bottles, and the second boy (fourteen) had 6s 6d as errand-boy. There were five younger children, besides the baby, and she asked that three of them should be admitted to the schools. This was done. The assistant relieving officer found her room clean and comfortable, and inquiries showed that the woman was sober and industrious, and that her husband failed through slackness of trade, and by no fault of his own. Next year the widow reported that her eldest girl earned 5s to 6s a week, and that she herself earned the same, but the boy only got 5s. She thought she could support the youngest of the three children who were at the schools, and the little girl was given up to her mother.

*Trade Misfortune, &c.—Another Case.*—Charlotte Curville applied for assistance in 1887, and stated that her husband had been for thirty-two years in business in George Street as a boot manufacturer, and had died in 1884, after having been ill for four years. She was left with three children. She had sold the stock, and her husband's brother gave her

£6 towards the funeral, which cost about £10. When her husband died £30 was due for rent, and £10. 10s for other liabilities, and a broker was put in. She borrowed £15, and a friend was surety for £15 more, and a concert was given on her behalf at Limehouse Town Hall which realized £22. With this money she repaid £10 of the £15 borrowed, and lived on the rest and on the proceeds of furniture for a while. Subsequently she went to Deptford, and was employed there in a boot-shop at 15s a week. This money not being sufficient to keep her, a friend lent her £8 to start a business, and she opened a milk-shop. This had failed, the money was all gone, and she owed 11s rent, and now asked that two of her children might be admitted to the schools. The woman received an excellent character from those who were asked, and the children were admitted. Six or eight months later Mrs. Curville reported that she had a situation at Bethnal Green at £20 per annum. In 1888 she moved to Limehouse, to a place where she has 8s a week and her food. She keeps the eldest girl, and pays 2s a week rent for a room.

*Widowhood.*—Mrs. Clanty asked medical aid in 1883 for her husband. He was a fireman on the National S.S. line, receiving £4. 15s a month. The ship's doctor brought him home in a cab ill. She had received £6 balance of wages, but could not afford medical advice. The order was given, and on visiting next day the relieving officer found their home decently furnished. There were six children, the eldest being nine years old. Mrs. Clanty worked at tailoring. The man was very ill and eventually went to the sick asylum. Two months later three of the children were sent to the schools, and Clanty himself came out of the sick asylum, and was admitted to Victoria Park Hospital. During November the Charity Organization Society allowed Mrs. Clanty 6s a week. In February, 1884, she asked that the children might remain at the schools; her husband was out of hospital, and hoped to get on board

his old ship, but in March he was again very ill. He had done two weeks' work. She was earning 7s a week. Medical aid was given, and the man admitted to the sick asylum, where he died in April. Another of the children was then sent to the schools. In October Mrs. Clanty was confined, and wrote to the Guardians that the baby was ill. Medical aid was granted for eight weeks. In December the woman and her baby were both ill; and in April the child died, and its funeral was paid for, costing 16s 9d. The eldest boy on leaving the schools got work as errand-boy; three other boys and a girl are in the Catholic schools, and the youngest girl lives at home. Mrs. Clanty earns about 8s a week at her tailoring, but the work is uncertain. Clanty's mother lives in Dublin, and Mrs. Clanty's mother, living in Stepney, had medical relief in 1885. No other relatives are named.

*Another Case.*—Mrs. Rowland, who was then only twenty-six, applied in 1880 for admission of two children. Her husband had been a groom, and had been five years in one situation. He had died four months before. He was a "Forester," and she received £12 at his death. There were four children, but she could send the two smallest to the *crèche* while she went to work. Her neighbours spoke well of her, and the children were admitted. Next year her baby died, and the other little one had measles, and was admitted to the sick asylum, the mother offering to help to support him. Later she asked to have him sent to the schools, as she could then get a place at £14 a year. This was done, and she paid 3s a week for the boy. The situation was lost through illness, and then Mrs. Rowland asked permission to take a place outside the district, and this being allowed, she became a nurse at a fever hospital in the outskirts of London at £18 a year. From that time till now she had continued to act as nurse at one place or other, and all the time had paid £7. 16s out of her earnings towards the support of her children.

*Orphans—Two Cases.*—Martha Flanagan applied in 1882 for the admission of her father and two brothers to the sick asylum. The relieving officer found the man suffering from bronchitis, in a very dirty room. He was admitted to the sick asylum, and the boys were sent to the schools. The man died in the asylum a month later. At that time there were six children—Martha, born 1863, being the eldest, and the two boys the youngest. Ellen, the second child, was living with an aunt. Their mother had died in Colney Hatch, chargeable to Stepney, in 1877. The man had been a great drunkard, and had made many applications for relief in his day. There is no further mention of this family till 1886, when a list of those willing to go to Canada was received from the manager of the schools, in which the name of one of the Flanagan boys appeared. Thereupon Martha Flanagan came and said that her brother James, working at a sugar wharf, and earning 7s or 8s a week, and her sister Jane and herself working at Bryant and May's, and earning respectively 5s to 6s and 8s to 9s a week, had heard that Patrick was to be sent to Canada. They did not wish him to go, so asked to have him home. They lived in one room (3s rent). It was clean and comfortable, and they all bore good characters. The matter was held over, and a month later the eldest sister reported that they had got two rooms (rent 4s) at Townsend's Buildings, and wanted Patrick given up to them, which was done. There is no further record, but it is said that Dennis, the boy remaining in the schools, is going to Canada now (1889).

The Tattons were left orphans in 1884. There were seven children from twenty-one to two years old, of whom two have been and two are still in the parish schools. The father was a labourer, born 1843, and the first application made was for the immediate interment of his wife, who had died the previous night of malignant smallpox. The man caught the disease also, and twelve days later was removed

to the Smallpox Hospital, where he died. Two of the children sickened also, but they recovered. Tatton had three brothers, two being labourers and the third a shopman, and one sister. All are married and have children. The only other relatives are the children's grandmothers—both widows of advanced age—living in the country, and receiving parish relief. The eldest of these orphans, a girl then twenty-one years old, asked for the admission of the three youngest boys to the workhouse, and they were subsequently sent to the schools. The little one, born 1882, was only a month there, being taken out by his aunt. The eldest boy was apprenticed to a shoe-maker. One of the boys from the schools turned out badly. He was sent to the Boys' Working Home in connection with Dulwich College, and several places were obtained for him, but he left each in disgrace, and finally the director of the Home returned him to the Guardians.

*Old Age—Drink Alleged.*—Eliza English is a widow, now eighty-three, whose husband (a stonemason) died sixteen years before her application for relief. He was in no club, and had made no provision for her. She supported herself by charing until she was struck with paralysis. She stated that since then for four years she had lived with a daughter, and helped her at tailoring. She had no furniture of her own. It had been disposed of when she and her husband had both been in hospital sixteen years before. No order appears to have been made. After an interval of seven years she again applied, stating that her son had helped her, but insufficiently, and could do so no longer. Her daughter was unkind, a terrible drunkard, pawning her children's clothes for drink. The daughter said that her mother was troublesome and drank. The relieving officer found the house very dirty. The woman was admitted to Bromley.

*Old Age, Sickness and Drink.*—Jane Neville, age seventy-three, is a widow. Her husband was a tidesman, and

applied in 1877 for medical relief for his wife, who was ill. In 1880 he himself had medical attendance for rheumatism, and shortly after his wife was again very ill. The Charity Organization Society had assisted him in the winter of 1879, but had ceased to do so, as the result of their inquiries about him were not satisfactory. He applied several times for medicines in 1880, and was sent to Bromley in 1881. The landlady of these people stated that they drank and begged; but they do not seem to have been great drinkers, and the man has not been seen drunk. The woman was sent to the sick asylum for a time. In August, 1882, the man applied for out-relief, but obtained only a medical order. In 1883, however, he was sent to the sick asylum. He had done no work for four months. In February, 1883, both man and wife were sent to Bromley. She came out twice in 1884, but had to return, her legs being so bad, and she was sent to the sick asylum to have them treated. The man died in October, 1887.

*Old Age, Sickness, Drink, Pauper Habits.*—Nancy Daly, age seventy-two. This woman's first application to the Guardians was for medical relief, being made by a friend in 1879. In 1881 she herself applied for out-door relief. The relieving officer visited her and found her in bed, and her son very drunk. A conveyance was sent to take her to the sick asylum, but her son would not let her go. She had medical attendance in January, May, and October, 1882. In 1884 her son applied himself for medical relief. He had a bad hand, could do no work, was in no club, and stated that he was the sole support of his mother. The mother also had medicine in October and November, 1884, and applied again in 1885, stating that her son had had £4 compensation paid to him for leaving his house in the "Ruins," but would have been better without it, and was a lazy fellow. She applied again in December, 1885, and in March, July, and October, 1886. Her son was run over in April, 1887, and admitted to the sick asylum for about a



fortnight. She herself was admitted to Bromley in June, 1887, and stayed till June, 1888, when she absented herself for two days. In November, 1889, she was sent to Colney Hatch, but was discharged and sent back to Bromley in a fortnight. The relieving officer characterized her son as a dirty loathsome drunkard. Her daughter Julia supports herself by charing, and had medical relief in 1883 for about five weeks.

Her daughter Ellen married John James, and applied for medical relief for him in 1880, and again in 1881. He belonged to a sick club, but it had failed. His wife, applying for medical relief in 1886 for a child, said her husband's earnings were very precarious. In 1887 she applied on behalf of another child. She had a family of seven girls and two boys. In 1887 the husband again asked for medical assistance. In 1889 he had an accident, and was admitted to the sick asylum.

Another daughter of Nancy Daly married a man who had medical relief in 1878, and was admitted to the sick asylum with bronchitis in 1880.

*Old Age, Pauper Associations, and Miserable Surroundings.*—Ellen Blackwood, age seventy-three, is a widow. The application for her admission was made in 1877 by her only known relative, a niece, who stated that her aunt had come out of the workhouse two years ago, and that since then she had supported her. The relieving officer found the old woman apparently unable to walk. She was sent to the sick asylum in 1879 and in 1880, and subsequently in July, 1881, to Bromley Workhouse. She returned to her niece for a time, but was readmitted in January, 1882, and again in January, 1884, since when she has only been out once, to attend the funeral of her niece's husband. This niece married a man named George Marker some time previous to 1837. In 1878 he applied for medicine for his wife. He said he had earned only 6s in three weeks. In 1882 the man had medicine for himself, and from that time

there were recurrent applications, usually for the man. In 1887 the man was employed cleaning pots at the Crown, and met with an accident through the exploding of a lamp, his ankles being cut and his feet burnt. He was sent to the sick asylum. Later this year he had medicine, and his wife had some in 1889. The Markers are a bad lot, and of their children one at least married into a pauper connection and has had relief.

*Old Age, Pauper Habits, Sickness.*—Sarah Bagalley, age sixty-seven, has been a widow since 1871. She first applied to the Guardians in 1878, when she was living rent free in an alley, her sons supplying her with food. In 1881 she went to live with them. In 1883 she was admitted to Bromley, and has been in several times since, the last admission being in October, 1888. In 1882 she obtained medical relief for her son John. He became worse and went into Bartholomew's Hospital, and two of his children were admitted to Bromley. Their father died in hospital in October, 1882. He was in the Stevedores' Club, and his widow received £10. She married again, and her first husband's mother Sarah continued to live with her. Sarah's grandson John received medical relief in 1888.

*Old Age, Sickness.*—Obadiah Malone, age sixty-five. This man came from Ireland. His wife made application for medicine on his behalf in 1878. In 1879 he was in the sick asylum for nine months, and in 1880 he applied for admission to Bromley. His sons had been supporting him. After his admission his wife, who was helped by a nephew, had medical relief several times. Between 1880 and 1887 the man was out a good deal, and for months at a time, usually re-entering because he was ill. After his admission in 1887 he was a more regular inmate, his wife still applying through friends for medicines from time to time. She lived with a step-son. In July, 1888, the relieving officer found her in a wretched condition, smoking a clay pipe in an evil-smelling and miserable room. She was sent to Bromley,

but has been out twice since ; was in the sick asylum for a time with an injured hand, and is now dead. The man was in the sick asylum for pleurisy from May to July, 1888.

*Old Age, Easy-going Habits, Sickness.*—Henry Tudor, age seventy, applied for medicine for his wife in November, 1879, saying he could not procure her medicines or necessities. The relieving officer paid an unexpected visit. The people hurried the food which they were cooking out of the room, but could not remove the savour of the meat. Medical attendance was given till 1880, when the woman went to the sick asylum. She came out shortly, not having been very comfortable, and immediately applied again for medicines ; applying also several times during 1880 and 1881. The man's work during this time was irregular. He was a blacksmith. Towards the end of 1881 he got into good work, and by March, 1882, had paid off his back rent ; the Charity Organization Society helping him a little. In 1882, and early in 1883, medicines were again applied for and given, but the woman refused to go into the sick asylum. When the pair had money they lived well, but this only happened at intervals. In February, 1883, the man had medicine, and in April, 1883, the woman entered the sick asylum, where she died in 1885. The man had medicine again in 1883, and once in 1884. There is then a break in his record till July, 1886, when he stated that his landlord had seized his things for rent which he could not pay, and he was then admitted to Bromley, whence he occasionally goes out for a few days at a time, staying at a common lodging-house.

*Old Age, Improvidence.* — Bartholomew Leah and Margaret, his wife, aged seventy-four and seventy-two respectively. The man, a rigger, made application for relief in 1880. He stated that he had not been to sea for fourteen years, but had worked on shore. He had had no work for five weeks, but expected some in a fortnight. He said he had had good work and good places, but never saved money. It went as it came. The relieving officer visited,

and found him and his wife in a top room, very clean and comfortable. Relief was not given, but the Charity Organization Society assisted. In 1883 he applied again, and said that he had had no work for three weeks, and that he and his wife had lived by pawning their things. They were both determined to enter the house, and have been chargeable ever since either at Bromley or the sick asylum.

*Old Age, Temper.*—Alfred Turner, eighty-seven years old. This man worked for forty years in the timber department of the docks, and bore a good character as a hard-working man. As a young man he had been master of a vessel. At the time of his application for relief in 1876, he stated that his wife had been working for twenty years as a monthly nurse. Out-relief was given, first 4s, then 5s 6d, and finally, in 1879, 7s 6d a week. His ways and language were most violent, and complained of both at the docks and by his landlady, who gave him notice to quit because he was abusive. In June, 1880, the relieving officer was sent for to stop a dispute in which the old fellow was engaged, and found him marching about with a poker in his hand. Both he and his wife drank, and it was said she kept company with bad women. In September, 1882, the man applied for admission for them both on the ground of feebleness, and they were taken in at Bromley. The wife died in 1886, and the old man has not been out since.

*Age unprovided for.*—William Charley, age sixty-four, had been a sailor, but when he applied in 1880 had not been to sea for three years. He had been for ten months night watchman at Phoenix Common Lodging-House, at 6d a night and a few perquisites. He had a bad hand and could not do his work. He was sent to Bromley. He applied again in December, 1884, coming from the same common lodging-house. He had not worked for a week, and was destitute. He was sent to Poplar. He came out again for a few days in May, 1885, but with that exception

has been chargeable since 1884. He is now a messenger at the Relief Office.

*Another Case.*—Mrs. Thompson applied in January, 1880. She is a widow, and was then seventy-one years old. Her husband had died in 1868, and she had had relief before his death and for a month afterwards, but had since then supported herself with the assistance of her son George. Her other son, Henry, had not helped her for nearly three years. George was a boot-closer, and she worked with him; just then they had no work, and she asked for out-relief. Henry was written to, and agreed to pay 2s 6d a week. This he discontinued in July, being himself out of work. He is an engineer. Henry's wife being appealed to, agreed to 1s being paid, to be increased to 2s 6d when her husband got work. The old woman had to fetch the money, and in September she asked for the 2s 6d, as he was then in work. Henry saw the relieving officer, and said he had only done nine days' work since July. He said his mother was bad-tempered, and had imposed on all the charitable institutions in the neighbourhood. Even when her husband was alive she used to go out and beg. He, however, agreed to pay the 1s a week through the relieving officer. There seems to have been a family feud. George married in October, and allowed his mother 2s a week, but she could not live on 3s a week, and entered the house. This is a case in which the duty of supporting an old mother clearly does not tend to pleasant relations.

*Old Age.* “*In every winter.*”—Mrs. Rock, born 1812, and a widow for many years, applied in January, 1878, having no work (she was employed basket-weaving). She left in April, returning for a fortnight in May. She applied next in February, 1880. She had been washing and charing, but could get no more work. She left again in March, and returned for the winter from September, 1880, to February, 1881; then went into the country for the summer, and returned to the house in October, staying

in mostly till March, 1882. She again wintered in the house from October 12th, 1882, to February 10th, 1883, and so each year till 1886, when, being seventy-four years of age, she found herself too old for the summer outing, and now spends her time between the house and the sick asylum.

*Age, Infirmary, Widowhood.*—Ann Jackson, age sixty-five, applied for admission in May, 1887. Her husband, a ship's steward, had died four years before on a voyage. Her son, a letter-sorter, had died two years after him. She had tried to earn her living by needlework, but could not work now. She had been in Victoria Park Hospital five months, and at Mile End Infirmary for a year. The night before her application she had spent at a coffee-house. She was admitted to Bromley and transferred to the sick asylum, suffering from erysipelas. She was discharged in December, 1887, but applied for readmission a year later.

*Old Age, Misfortune, and Lack of Relatives.*—James Coach, age seventy-one. This man's wife died in the sick asylum in 1874. He paid 1s a day for her while there. He applied for admission to the workhouse in 1879, having had no work for three weeks and no home. He had been turned out of a room and his furniture detained because he owed 2s rent. His landlady called him a lazy old fellow, and said that her husband got him work, but that he would not get up to keep it. Another woman in the same street said that he was steady and hard-working. He was sent to Bromley, and since his admission has been several times in the sick asylum.

*Old Age and Failing Strength.*—John Scott, born in 1819, has been a widower since 1866. When he applied for admission to the workhouse in 1879 he said he had worked twenty-three years for one master, an oven-builder, and that he had been discharged seven weeks before because he was too old. He had lived on his savings and by pawning his clothes. For the first eight years with the

oven-builder he had 18s, and then he was fifteen years at 20s. In January, 1879, his money was reduced to 14s, and it would seem that he was not worth that. He was married in 1845, and his only child died in infancy. After this application he seems to have gone back to the oven-building, as in 1881 he applied again, having been thrown out of his master's cart when the horse took fright at something. He was in the hospital for eight weeks, allowed 4s or 5s a week from the firm, but this had been stopped. The employer corroborated this, and said Scott could not do much work now, only about a third of what an ordinary labourer would do. He was willing and steady.

*Old Age, Sickness.*—Martha Strype, age eighty-eight. This woman lived with her daughter, and had been in Bromley several times before she applied for readmission in May, 1878. She has been out on different occasions since, staying with her daughter, and going hopping with her. Their room was a miserably small kitchen, barely furnished, and dirty. The daughter, who, as well as her mother, is a washer-woman, and a widow, now lives with a son. She had medical attendance twice in 1887. Martha Strype's son, Thomas, is married, and has a family of children, for whom medical relief was obtained in 1885. His eldest son, Ralph (born in 1871), applied for medical aid on his own account in December, 1885, and again in May, 1889. The father, Thomas, was ill for two years (1881-1883) with a bad leg.

*Old Age. Willing, but past Work, and Savings exhausted.*

George Mason, born 1826, applied in 1886. He was a widower and had no home. He was by trade a whitening moulder, but had been out of work three months through his employers giving up the lease of their premises. He had worked twenty years for them. The employers gave

the man a good character in every respect. He cannot obtain work again because "younger men are wanted."

Joseph Sims and his wife, both born 1816, were admitted to Bromley Workhouse in 1887, and the woman died there in 1888. Sims was a twine-spinner, and when he first asked for medical assistance stated that he had earned 19*s* the previous week, out of which he had to pay 5*s* to the boy who turned the wheel. He and his wife were then living in a back room, rent 2*s*. The landlady said they were sober, industrious people, and the neighbours confirmed this. Previous to admission they had had to part with some of their furniture to pay for food; the landlady had taken some for rent, and their son the rest. This son is a dock labourer, and doubtless thought it best to save all he could out of the inevitable wreck. There are three other children—one a son, a cigar-maker at New York, and two daughters married and settled in the country.

Bernard O'Neill and his wife are another example of sober and industrious people past work. He was born 1814, and worked at the docks. She was thirteen years younger than her husband, and did sack-making. In the season they would go hopping. The first application, March, 1883, is as usual for medicine. The old man was ill. He had only done a few days' work since the autumn. Medical aid was given and continued, and the Roman Catholic clergy assisted the old couple. Their room was kept clean, and Mrs. O'Neill went on with her work, but it was slack. She used to make 8*s* a week, but had dropped to 1*s* 6*d*. Next year the old man was admitted to the sick asylum, and finally in 1886 both settled down in Bromley House. They have no relatives.

Mrs. Hart is another case. She is sixty-eight and a widow, and had done canvas work. In 1882 she said she had done no work for seven or eight weeks, and had sold most of her furniture. She was then admitted to Bromley House, but came out the following August and went to



live with her sister, Mrs. Harfield, who is four years older than herself, and engaged in the same work. The old women worked and lived together till 1884 (with an interval of a few months, when Mrs. Hart was in the house again). In 1884 Mrs. Hart injured herself carrying some canvas, and was found by the relieving officer lying on the floor in great pain. She was sent to the sick asylum, and on coming out and being unable to work, took refuge at Bromley, where she has remained, except for one short visit to her sister. Mrs. Harfield fell ill in 1886, and application was made on her behalf. The relieving officer found her very ill, and several of the neighbours were with her. The place was clean and comfortable, and medical relief was given. Two years later Mrs. Harfield (then seventy-one) applied, saying she was destitute and could not keep herself. She had no furniture and her landlady could not keep her any longer. Mrs. Hart had a son who used to work at the docks, but he lost his right leg and became chargeable in 1880. He is dead now. She has a married daughter who does not seem to help.

Martin Smith, born 1818, and his wife, born 1838, occupied a room (rent free) at the house of a cousin. This cousin kept a boot shop and Martin worked for him. The old man applied for admission to the House in 1887, saying he had not worked for two months as he was getting too old. His wife could keep herself, being employed to take charge of the children of their cousin at the boot shop. He withdrew his application as he got a little work, but came again later. The cousin's wife said her husband could not trust the old man with any work, as he was too weak and old. The man was admitted and has been chargeable ever since.

Henry Worthington, age sixty-eight, a widower for twenty years, had worked as a tea-chest cooper at one wharf for thirty-three years, earning 25s to 35s a week for eight or nine months in the year. When he applied in

1887, he had not for three years been able to work owing to rheumatics. His savings (£73) were all gone, and his furniture sold. He belonged to no club. He has three sons, dock labourers, who say they cannot assist him, and three daughters, all married to labourers and having families of their own. All poor together.

Thomas Davis, born 1808, and a widower since 1881, applied in 1883 saying that he had been a sailor fifty years. For the last ten years he had gone to sea only part of his time, doing ship-keeping at other times, and for four years he had not been to sea at all. The owners of some of the ships he had been accustomed to keep sent a present of £2, and offered to pay 1s a week to the Guardians to give the old man tobacco. He had done no work for sixteen months through sickness, caused by an accident, which had left him partially paralyzed. He belonged to no club, but had saved £16, and this was now spent. He had very good characters from captain and mates. This old man has three sons, but two are at New York and the third is a sailor; and he has a daughter, but she is married and lives at a distance, so he has no one to look after him.

Catherine Dinmont, born in 1815, a single woman, was a domestic servant. She came up to London from the country in 1845, and has been servant with several families. She saved £20, but it had gone since she had not been able to keep in regular service. She was suffering from an internal complaint, and could not pay a doctor. She was admitted to Bromley House.

Mrs. Marston, born in 1816 and a widow since 1867, earned her living by washing, but had become helpless, and had been supported for some time by her daughter, the wife of a dock labourer with two children. The daughter applied for her mother's admission in 1885. She could not manage to keep her mother any longer. They had only one room, and she herself was expecting to be confined.

Another case is that of Robert Hamer, a widower, born

in 1809, and by trade a carpenter. He lived with his daughter, Mrs. Room, a widow with two grown children. Mrs. Room and her daughter do shirt-work; the son, a young man of twenty, is a clerk. The old man is quite disabled, and had done no work for eleven months. They applied for his admission to the house as they could not afford to keep him.

A similar case is that of Sarah Coward, a widow, born 1797. This old woman formerly had out-relief, and had been at one time in Bromley House, but in 1882 she was living outside dependent on her daughter, Mrs. Drayton. She had no sons. Mrs. Drayton was a widow employed at bottle-washing, and supported her mother for some time. Mrs. Drayton's daughter, twenty-six years old, employed at some rope-works, lives at home, and there is a son who is a sailor. Both Mrs. Drayton and her daughter have had medical attendance, and the old lady was admitted to Bromley Workhouse, and afterwards transferred to the sick asylum.

James Bond, a widower, born 1804, applied for admission in 1877. He had come out of the house five months before, but had been unable to get sufficient work to keep himself. He was a bricklayer. His niece, Sarah Bond, had been keeping him, but could do so no longer. She herself needed some assistance in 1880. She is a dealer in catsmeat and firewood, and was so severely bitten six months before by her donkey that she had to have her arm cut off. She had to give up the wood-chopping, and found she could not earn a living out of the catsmeat. She asked for medicine once and sometimes twice in the year up to 1888, and then said her earnings were only 4s a week. She is described as rough, but steady and hardworking.

Such stories as these last might be multiplied indefinitely. Thus poverty overtakes old age, and in a large proportion of cases there is not a word to indicate any fault, while story follows story with pathetic recurrence well calculated

to crush hope out of the hearts of those who do not read but themselves act these simple dramas of life.

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I fear that the stories, as given, are tedious in their reiteration of the same eternal round of wickedness, folly, and misery—misfortune, sorrow, and want. The plan adopted, however, has the advantage of being an analysis of a complete section of indoor pauperism, the cases described in the foregoing chapters and in the Appendix including every pauper in receipt of relief at Stepney on April 30th, 1887, but the information so conveyed is not very easy of digestion. In the condensed table on page 314 I have not included the cases of those who had out-relief. The administration of Stepney Union, practically excluding all out-relief, except the visits of the doctor, and this "medical relief" being allowed very freely, is too peculiar for generalization. Particulars of sick families visited and assisted in this way are, however, given in the Appendix along with other out-relief cases.

In considering the causes of pauperism, it is very easy to exaggerate any one of them at the expense of the rest. Incapacity and mental disease might be stretched to cover almost all—vice, drink, laziness, themselves closely bound together, fill also a great place in connection with sickness and lack of work—or we may reverse this, and show how sickness and lack of work, and consequent want of proper food, end in demoralization of all kinds, and especially in drink. It is said also that the chief cause of pauperism is to be found in our attempts to relieve it. With subtleties of this kind I shall not attempt to deal. All I have done is to mark each story with letters to indicate the apparent causes or roots of the trouble suffered; large letters being used for what appeared to be the principal cause in each case, and small letters for those which seemed less important, which I classify as "contributory," as is explained in the

Appendix. It is a very rough-and-ready method, and has the disadvantage, as well as advantage, of resting on no special inquiry. A special inquiry would be more searching, but would certainly be more open to suspicion of bias, and to errors due to methods of selection. It would, moreover, be almost impossible to give to a special inquiry so broad a numerical basis. As a description of city pauperism, the picture provided by the Stepney stories is complete enough.

# SUMMARY OF POPULATION

*Enumerated by Families according to Occupation.*

Section.	Heads.	Others Occupied	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total.
1 Architects .....	3,680	3,064	9,041	3,461	19,246
2 Builders .....	6,871	7,821	19,611	1,510	35,813
3 Masons .....	4,750	4,638	13,502	106	22,996
4 Bricklayers.....	14,330	13,024	40,257	85	67,696
5 Carpenters .....	24,805	23,139	67,009	568	115,521
6 Plasterers .....	5,111	4,983	14,848	46	24,988
7 Painters .....	22,982	20,611	61,924	439	105,956
8 Plumbers .....	5,141	4,121	14,794	142	24,198
9 Gasfitters .....	3,492	3,214	9,672	113	16,491
10 Cabinet makers.....	29,617	30,129	77,527	1,420	138,693
11 Carriage builders .....	6,276	5,969	16,600	257	29,102
12 Coopers .....	2,571	2,907	6,913	54	12,445
13 Shipwrights .....	1,704	1,915	4,616	62	8,297
14 Engine and machine makers .....	15,484	13,662	42,373	882	72,401
15 Blacksmiths .....	8,189	7,689	22,820	130	38,828
16 Other workers in iron and steel...	6,561	6,059	18,228	444	31,292
17 Workers in other metals .....	9,524	8,516	26,458	552	45,050
18 Gold and silversmiths .....	4,588	4,634	11,400	1,101	21,723
19 Watches and clocks .....	2,693	2,884	6,197	381	12,155
20 Surgical and scientific instruments	4,150	3,317	10,455	593	18,515
21 Musical instruments and toys.....	5,459	5,328	13,899	469	25,155
22 Glass and earthenware.....	2,498	2,146	6,842	179	11,665
23 Chemicals .....	2,285	2,110	5,927	570	10,892
24 Soap and candles .....	1,056	1,037	2,646	207	4,946
25 Leather .....	8,076	8,230	21,188	862	38,356
26 Saddlery, harness, &c.....	2,342	2,281	5,827	128	10,578
27 Brushes and combs .....	2,470	2,798	5,817	130	11,215
28 Printing .....	18,048	16,060	47,257	854	82,219
29 Bookbinding .....	4,289	4,301	9,527	124	18,241
30 Paper .....	3,008	3,058	6,241	251	12,558
31 Stationery .....	3,423	3,556	7,920	857	15,756
32 Bookselling .....	4,386	4,161	10,099	1,436	20,082
33 Silk and fancy textiles.....	1,764	2,132	2,807	331	7,034
34 Woollen goods, &c. ....	1,076	1,143	2,358	147	4,724
35 Dyers and cleaners .....	896	1,023	2,095	112	4,126
36 Hemp, jute, and fibre .....	1,424	1,635	3,235	97	6,391
37 Floor cloth and waterproof .....	1,386	1,331	3,607	216	6,540
38 Tailors .....	21,403	23,354	45,389	1,730	91,876
39 Boot-makers .....	21,151	22,474	52,083	906	96,614
40 Hatters .....	2,253	2,369	4,971	234	9,827
41 Dress-makers and milliners .....	15,840	15,612	10,763	1,489	43,704
42 Shirt-makers and seamstresses ...	7,249	5,393	4,527	157	17,326
43 Machinists .....	1,939	1,617	3,135	24	6,715
44 Trimmings, artificial flowers, &c.	5,571	6,091	10,219	686	22,567
45 Drapers and silk-weavers .....	7,241	8,756	15,288	3,092	34,377
Carried forward.....	329,052	320,292	797,912	27,634	1,474,890

# SUMMARY OF POPULATION—continued.

Section.	Heads.	Others Occupied	Unoccupied.	Servants.	Total.
Brought forward.....	329,052	320,292	797,912	27,634	1,474,890
46 Millers and sugar refiners .....	1,231	1,104	3,251	228	5,814
47 Brewers and mineral water makers .....	2,803	2,458	7,600	505	13,366
48 Tobacconists .....	4,143	4,337	10,286	678	19,444
49 Bakers and confectioners .....	11,090	12,998	27,449	1,490	53,027
50 Dairymen .....	5,407	5,147	14,271	713	25,538
51 Butchers and fishmongers .....	16,248	15,838	44,589	3,735	80,410
52 Grocers and oilmen .....	15,870	16,514	39,345	3,299	75,028
53 Publicans .....	11,050	18,082	26,066	6,011	61,209
54 Lodging and coffee-house keepers .....	8,107	16,424	12,720	5,610	42,861
55 Ironmongers and china dealers ...	4,724	5,190	11,307	1,726	22,947
56 Coal, wood, and corn dealers .....	4,360	4,421	11,603	1,604	21,988
57 General shop-keepers .....	7,137	7,586	16,521	503	31,747
58 Costermongers .....	5,825	5,817	12,053	65	23,760
59 Merchants, brokers .....	13,278	12,022	32,912	13,722	71,984
60 Commercial clerks .....	40,737	32,270	96,772	11,810	181,589
61 Cabmen and coachmen .....	32,588	25,917	85,147	585	144,297
62 Carmen .....	25,248	20,813	70,968	230	117,259
63 Railway service.....	15,357	13,161	41,976	518	71,012
64 Railway labour .....	2,567	2,386	6,810	53	11,816
65 Gardeners .....	7,615	6,981	17,951	491	33,038
66 Country labour .....	2,270	2,168	5,988	307	10,733
67 Seamen, fishermen .....	3,592	3,004	8,648	589	15,833
68 Watermen and lightermen .....	4,079	3,656	11,703	128	19,566
69 Dock and wharf service .....	1,620	1,571	4,702	249	8,142
70 Dock labourers .....	9,602	8,392	25,383	20	43,397
71 Coal-porters .....	3,243	2,590	9,652	14	15,499
72 Gasworks service .....	4,358	3,578	13,155	72	21,163
73 Warehousemen and messengers...	17,715	15,931	42,153	473	76,272
74 General labourers .....	44,551	37,691	117,430	103	199,775
75 Factory labourers .....	3,544	2,976	9,160	10	15,690
76 Engine drivers, &c. (unspecified)...	9,700	8,889	26,520	281	45,390
77 Civil service .....	13,518	11,150	34,026	4,979	63,673
78 Waterworks service .....	3,669	3,486	9,374	64	16,593
79 Police and Prisons .....	8,577	5,279	25,374	179	39,409
80 Army and navy .....	3,867	2,152	8,299	5,653	19,971
81 Law .....	7,755	5,854	17,787	8,030	39,426
82 Medicine.....	11,028	9,827	16,916	7,759	45,590
83 Art and amusement .....	9,968	8,530	18,555	3,069	40,122
84 Literature and science.....	2,636	1,987	5,436	1,610	11,669
85 Education .....	6,540	6,997	11,152	2,648	27,337
86 Religion .....	4,728	5,028	9,479	3,830	23,065
87 Household service.....	39,668	42,491	45,085	886	128,130
88 Outdoor service .....	19,224	15,493	34,709	1,027	70,453
89 The unoccupied.....	126,877	102,209	162,466	63,511	455,063
TOTAL.....	926,766	860,687	2,060,661	186,701	4,034,815
Inmates of institutions, &c.....					167,404
Servants in charge of houses .....					9,524

TOTAL POPULATION.....4,211,743

APPENDIX A  
DISTRIBUTION AND CLASSIFICATION OF  
POPULATION—SECTIONS 77-89.



## PART I.—PUBLIC SERVICE AND PROFESSIONAL CLASSES.

TABLE A.—*Distribution of whole Population.*

Registration Districts.	(77.) Civil and Municipal Service.		(78.) Municipal labour and Water-works Service.		(79.) Police and Prisons.		(80.) Army and Navy.		(81.) Law.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poplar .....	1341	2.1	668	4.0	1255	3.2	93	.5	231	.6
Mile End Old Town and Stepney .....	1701	2.7	553	3.3	1397	3.5	49	.2	267	.7
St. George's-in-the-East and Whitechapel .....	465	.7	337	2.0	674	1.7	20	.1	20	.1
Bethnal Green .....	703	1.1	439	2.6	754	1.9	43	.2	92	.2
Shoreditch .....	783	1.2	406	2.5	659	1.7	40	.2	169	.4
Total of East London	4993	7.8	2403	14.4	4739	12.0	245	1.2	779	2.0
Hackney .....	3864	6.1	739	4.5	1878	4.8	133	.7	2445	6.2
Islington .....	5919	9.3	1213	7.3	2577	6.5	256	1.3	3788	9.6
St. Pancras .....	2646	4.1	980	5.9	2176	5.5	297	1.5	2097	5.3
Marylebone and Hampstead	2546	4.0	1209	7.3	2287	5.8	1113	5.6	3362	8.5
Total of North London	14,975	23.5	4141	25.0	8918	22.6	1799	9.1	11,602	29.6
Paddington .....	1901	3.0	671	4.0	885	2.2	1392	7.0	2472	6.3
St. George's, Hanover Square	3218	5.1	460	2.8	2052	5.2	2878	14.4	1706	4.3
Kensington .....	2566	4.1	636	4.0	1171	3.0	3948	19.8	4777	12.1
Chelsea .....	1909	3.0	498	3.0	1524	3.9	761	3.8	969	2.5
Fulham .....	3138	4.9	871	5.3	2270	5.8	1001	5.0	1337	3.4
Total of West London	12,732	20.1	3156	19.1	7902	20.1	9980	50.0	11,261	28.6
City .....	462	.7	71	.4	1445	3.7	10	.0	124	.3
Holborn .....	1428	2.2	666	4.0	1210	3.1	31	.2	873	2.2
Strand, Westminster, and St. Giles .....	1098	1.7	432	2.6	1625	4.1	461	2.3	768	1.9
Total of Central London	2988	4.6	1169	7.0	4280	10.9	502	2.5	1765	4.4
Woolwich .....	2418	3.8	185	1.1	780	2.0	3625	18.1	313	.8
Greenwich .....	2595	4.1	607	3.7	1296	3.3	666	3.3	956	2.4
St. Olave, Southwark .....	1398	2.2	482	2.9	1275	3.2	31	.2	173	.4
Camberwell .....	4801	7.5	1034	6.2	1377	3.5	496	2.5	3401	8.7
Lewisham .....	1862	2.9	299	1.8	943	2.4	730	3.7	1530	3.9
Total of S.-East London	13,074	20.5	2607	15.7	5671	14.4	5548	27.8	6373	16.2
St. Saviour's, Southwark ...	2475	3.9	651	3.9	2368	6.0	108	.5	772	2.0
Lambeth .....	5460	8.6	1210	7.3	2704	6.9	567	2.8	2521	6.4
Wandsworth .....	6976	11.0	1256	7.6	2827	7.1	1222	6.1	4263	10.8
Total of S.-West London	14,911	23.5	3117	18.8	7899	20.0	1897	9.4	7556	19.2
GRAND TOTAL OF LONDON	63,673	100	16,593	100	39,409	100	19,971	100	39,426	100

# PART I.—PUBLIC SERVICE AND PROFESSIONAL CLASSES

(continued).

TABLE A.—*Distribution of whole Population (continued).*

(82.) Medicine.		(83.) Art and Amusement.		(84.) Literature and Science.		(85.) Education.		(86.) Religion.		Total of Public and Professional Service.	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
960	2.1	461	1.2	49	.4	626	2.3	605	2.6	6289	1.9
928	2.0	685	1.7	74	.6	680	2.5	828	3.6	7162	2.2
469	1.0	382	.9	55	.5	522	1.9	488	2.1	3432	1.0
818	1.8	385	.9	37	.3	215	.8	303	1.3	3789	1.2
1013	2.2	607	1.5	26	.2	112	.4	330	1.4	4145	1.3
4188	9.1	2520	6.2	241	2.0	2155	7.9	2554	11.0	24,817	7.6
2499	5.5	1633	4.1	779	6.7	2306	8.5	1840	8.0	18,116	5.5
3558	7.8	3474	8.7	891	7.6	2464	9.0	1860	8.1	26,000	8.0
2809	6.2	3637	9.1	789	6.8	1115	4.2	1184	5.1	17,730	5.4
5675	12.5	3805	9.5	884	7.6	1609	5.8	1553	6.7	24,043	7.4
14,541	32.0	12,549	31.4	3343	28.7	7494	27.5	6437	27.9	85,889	26.3
2185	4.8	1313	3.3	378	3.2	1043	3.8	1089	4.7	13,329	4.1
2273	5.0	1383	3.4	302	2.6	433	1.6	787	3.4	15,492	4.7
2558	5.6	1777	4.4	946	8.1	1544	5.6	1247	5.4	21,190	6.6
994	2.2	1144	2.8	287	2.5	487	1.8	612	2.7	9185	2.8
2481	5.6	3091	7.7	725	6.2	1956	7.2	1119	4.9	17,989	5.5
10,491	23.2	8708	21.6	2638	22.6	5463	20.0	4854	21.1	77,185	23.7
274	.6	95	.2	85	.7	77	.3	372	1.6	3015	.9
1177	2.6	1089	2.7	265	2.3	311	1.1	520	2.3	7570	2.3
1206	2.7	1353	3.4	471	4.0	349	1.3	428	1.9	8191	2.6
2657	5.9	2537	6.3	821	7.0	737	2.7	1320	5.8	18,776	5.8
606	1.3	382	.9	88	.8	693	2.5	437	1.9	9527	2.9
1374	3.0	1009	2.5	252	2.1	1621	5.9	874	3.8	11,250	3.4
840	1.8	285	.7	41	.3	398	1.5	454	2.0	5377	1.6
2307	5.0	2215	5.6	971	8.3	2224	8.1	1252	5.4	20,078	6.1
1094	2.4	825	2.1	350	3.0	1253	4.5	948	4.1	9834	3.0
6221	13.5	4716	11.8	1702	14.5	6189	22.5	3965	17.2	56,066	17.0
1409	3.1	1771	4.4	208	1.8	455	1.7	749	3.2	10,966	3.3
2919	6.4	4094	10.2	1442	12.4	1991	7.3	1417	6.1	24,325	7.5
3104	6.8	3227	8.1	1274	11.0	2353	10.4	1769	7.7	28,771	8.8
7432	16.3	9092	22.7	2924	25.2	5299	19.4	3935	17.0	64,062	19.6
45,530	100	40,122	100	11,669	100	27,337	100	23,065	100	326,795	100

TABLE B.—*Classification of whole Population.*

Classification.		(77.) Civil and Municipal Service.		(78.) Municipal labour and Water-works Service.		(79.) Police and Prisons.		(80.) Army and Navy.		(81.) Law.	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Without Servants.	Families averaging—										
	1. 4 or more persons to a room .....	612	·9	1753	10·6	258	·6	221	1·1	150	·4
	2. 3 & under 4 persons to a room .....	1696	2·7	2254	13·6	1363	3·5	476	2·4	503	1·3
	3. 2 & under 3 persons to a room .....	6505	10·2	4805	29·0	8585	21·7	1382	6·9	1440	3·6
		8813	13·8	8812	53·2	10,206	25·8	2079	10·4	2093	5·3
	4. 1 & under 2 persons to a room .....	13,595	21·4	4231	25·5	15,695	40·0	1677	8·4	3926	9·9
	5. Less than 1 person to a room .....	2774	4·4	479	2·9	2040	5·2	535	2·7	1597	4·1
	6 All families occupying more than 4 rooms (mainly householders) .....	21,168	33·3	2762	16·6	10,625	26·9	2490	12·5	9237	23·4
	Families averaging—										
	A 4 or more persons to 1 servant .....	6329	9·9	148	·9	467	1·2	1074	5·4	3852	9·8
With Servants*.		30,271	47·6	3389	20·4	13,132	33·3	4099	20·6	14,686	37·3
	B 1 to 3 persons to 1 servant, &c. ....	3377	5·3	57	·3	129	·3	1772	8·9	3745	9·5
	C 1 to 3 persons to 2 servants, &c. ...	1185	1·8	34	·2	19	—	1888	9·5	3063	7·8
	D 3 or 4 persons to 3 servants, &c. ...	420	·7	6	—	20	·1	925	4·6	1792	4·5
		1605	2·5	40	·2	39	·1	2813	14·1	4855	12·3
	E 1 or 2 persons to 3 servants, &c. ...	340	·5	—	—	21	·1	897	4·5	1155	2·9
	F 1 or 2 persons to 4 servants, &c. ...	307	·5	—	—	—	—	415	2·1	458	1·2
	G 1 or 2 persons to 5 servants, &c. ...	114	·2	—	—	8	—	229	1·1	252	·6
	H 1 or 2 persons to 6 servants, &c. ...	272	·4	—	—	—	—	337	1·7	226	·6
		1033	1·6	—	—	29	·1	1878	9·4	2091	5·3
	Servants .....	4979	7·8	64	·4	179	·4	5653	28·2	8030	20·4
	GRAND TOTAL...	63,673	100	16,593	100	39,409	100	19,971	100	39,426	100

\* For complete details of the manner in which all servant-keeping

TABLE B.—*Classification of whole Population (continued).*

(82.) Medicine.		(83.) Art and Amusement.		(84.) Literature and Science.		(85.) Education.		(86.) Religion.		Total of Public and Professional Service.	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
666	1.5	1177	2.9	120	1.0	161	.5	102	.5	5220	1.6
1842	2.9	1900	4.7	160	1.4	373	1.4	219	.9	10,286	3.1
3744	8.2	4670	11.7	541	4.6	895	3.3	1135	4.9	33,702	10.3
5752	12.6	7747	19.3	821	7.0	1429	5.2	1456	6.3	49,208	15.0
7029	15.5	7757	19.3	1407	12.0	3532	13.0	2821	12.2	61,670	18.9
1398	3.1	2123	5.3	491	4.2	1699	6.2	981	4.2	14,117	4.3
7591	16.7	11,180	27.9	3020	25.9	9421	34.5	5183	22.5	82,677	25.3
4437	9.8	8885	9.7	1940	16.6	4419	16.2	3032	13.3	29,583	9.0
13,426	29.6	17,188	42.9	5451	46.7	15,539	56.9	9196	40.0	126,377	38.6
5513	12.1	2869	7.2	1427	12.3	2687	9.8	2912	12.6	24,488	7.5
3456	7.6	964	2.4	561	4.8	1129	4.1	1769	7.7	14,068	4.3
1302	2.9	269	.6	233	2.0	227	.8	562	2.4	5756	1.8
4758	10.5	1233	3.0	794	6.8	1356	4.9	2331	10.1	19,824	6.1
776	1.7	183	.4	92	.8	107	.4	302	1.3	3875	1.2
338	.7	32	.1	37	.3	18	.1	121	.5	1726	.5
114	.2	39	.1	20	.2	12	—	53	.2	841	.3
63	.1	5	—	10	.1	9	—	43	.2	965	.3
1293	2.7	259	.6	159	1.4	146	.5	519	2.2	7407	2.3
7759	17.0	8069	7.7	1610	13.8	2648	9.7	8830	16.6	37,821	11.6
45,530	100	40,122	100	11,669	100	27,337	100	23,065	100	326,795	100

Without ser-  
vants, 207,672  
persons, or  
53,695 fami-  
lies = 3.87  
persons per  
family.

With ser-  
vants, 81,302  
persons, or  
18,591 fami-  
lies = 4.37  
persons per  
family.

37,821

326,795

families have been classified, see Vol. I., p. 404, or Vol. III., p. 482 (Industry Series).

## PART II.—DOMESTIC SERVICE, &amp;c.

TABLE A.—*Distribution of whole Population.*

Registration Districts.	(87.) Domestic Service.		(88.) Extra Service (Private).		Total.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Poplar .....	1345	1·9	4163	3·2	5508	2·8
Mile End Old Town and Stepney.....	1753	2·5	3873	3·0	5626	2·8
St. George's-in-the-East and Whitechapel.....	935	1·3	3551	2·8	4486	2·2
Bethnal Green.....	1282	1·8	3534	2·8	4816	2·5
Shoreditch .....	1657	2·4	4049	3·1	5706	2·9
Hackney .....	2663	3·8	5846	4·6	8509	4·3
Total of East London.....	9635	13·7	25,016	19·5	34,651	17·5
Islington .....	3669	5·2	9040	7·1	12,709	6·4
St. Pancras .....	5007	7·1	7655	5·9	12,662	6·4
Marylebone and Hampstead.....	4289	6·1	6641	5·2	10,930	5·5
Total of North London .....	12,965	18·4	23,336	18·2	36,301	18·3
Paddington .....	2594	3·7	2524	2 0	5118	2·5
St. George's, Hanover Square....	6119	8·7	4563	3·6	10,682	5·4
Kensington .....	2940	4·2	6084	4 8	9024	4·5
Chelsea.....	3018	4·3	4176	3·2	7194	3·5
Fulham .....	3260	4·6	6923	5·4	10,183	5·2
Total of West London.....	17,931	25·5	24,270	19 0	42,201	21 1
City .....	741	1·1	3839	3·0	4580	2·3
Holborn.....	2915	4·1	5847	4·6	8762	4·4
Strand, Westminster, and St Giles .....	3373	4·8	5137	4 0	8510	4·3
Total of Central London.....	7029	10·0	14,823	11 6	21,852	11·0
Woolwich .....	919	1·3	1789	1·4	2707	1·4
Greenwich.....	1739	2·5	3852	3·0	5591	2·8
St. Olave, Southwark .....	1654	2·3	3309	2·6	4963	2·5
Camberwell .....	3124	4·4	6820	5·3	9944	5·0
Lewisham.....	841	1·2	2702	2·1	3543	1·7
Total of South-East London....	8277	11·7	18,471	14·4	26,748	13·4
St. Saviour, Southwark .....	4104	5·9	6107	4·8	10,211	5·2
Lambeth .....	5616	7·9	7949	6·2	13,565	6·8
Wandsworth.....	4896	6·9	8158	6·3	13,054	6·7
Total of South-West London....	14,616	20 7	22,214	17·3	36,830	18·7
GRAND TOTAL OF LONDON.....	70,453	100·0	128,130	100·0	198,583	100·0

TABLE B.—*Classification of whole Population.*

Classification.		(87.) Domestic Service.		(88.) Extra Service (Private).		Total.		Classification.
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Without Servants.	Families averaging—							
	1. 4 or more persons to a room .....	3819	5.4	9074	7.2	12,893	6.3	
	2. 3 & under 4 persons to a room .....	6514	9.3	13,703	10.7	20,217	10.0	
	3. 2 & under 3 persons to a room .....	16,650	23.6	28,895	22.6	45,545	23.1	
		26,983	38.3	51,672	40.5	78,655	39.4	
	4. 1 & under 2 persons to a room .....	21,812	31.0	39,797	31.0	61,609	31.0	
	5. Less than 1 person to a room .....	2477	3.5	7118	5.5	9595	4.5	
	6. All families occupying more than 4 rooms (mainly house-holders) .....	15,258	21.6	25,478	19.9	40,736	20.7	
	Families averaging—							
	A 4 or more persons to 1 servant .....	1583	2.3	2101	1.7	3684	2.0	
With Servants.		19,318	27.4	34,697	27.1	54,015	27.2	Without servants, 190,595 persons, or 57,490 families = 3.32 persons per family.
	B 1 to 3 persons to 1 servant, &c. ....	909	1.3	917	.7	1826	1.0	
	C 1 to 3 persons to 2 servants, &c. ....	300	.4	98	.1	398	.3	
	D 3 or 4 persons to 3 servants, &c. ....	37	—	16	—	53	—	
		337	.4	114	.1	451	.3	
	E 1 or 2 persons to 3 servants, &c. ....	48	.1	17	—	65	—	
	F 1 or 2 persons to 4 servants, &c. ....	7	—	27	—	34	—	
	G 1 or 2 persons to 5 servants, &c. ....	1	—	2	—	6	—	
	H 1 or 2 persons to 6 servants, &c. ....	8	—	1	—	9	—	
		67	.1	47	—	114	—	
Servants .....		1027	1.5	886	.6	1913	1.1	With servants, 6075 persons, or 1402 families = 4.33 persons per family.
GRAND TOTAL...		70,453	100.0	128,130	100.0	198,583	100.0	1913

# PART III.—PERSONS OF INDEPENDENT MEANS, PENSIONERS, RETIRED, &c.

TABLE A.—*Distribution of whole Population.*

Registration Districts.	Total. (Section 89.)	
	No.	%
Poplar.....	13,299	2.9
Mile End Old Town and Stepney .....	13,129	2.9
St. George's-in-the-East and Whitechapel .....	6663	1.5
Bethnal Green .....	7772	1.7
Shoreditch .....	7365	1.6
<b>Total of East London .....</b>	<b>48,228</b>	<b>10.6</b>
Hackney.....	26,070	5.7
Islington.....	34,467	7.6
St. Pancras .....	22,020	5.0
Marylebone and Hampstead .....	31,048	6.8
<b>Total of North London .....</b>	<b>114,505</b>	<b>25.1</b>
Paddington .....	22,539	4.9
St. George's, Hanover Square .....	21,257	4.7
Kensington .....	33,394	7.4
Chelsea .....	12,065	2.7
Fulham .....	24,238	5.3
<b>Total of West London.....</b>	<b>113,493</b>	<b>25.0</b>
City.....	2140	.5
Holborn.....	9418	2.0
Strand, Westminster, and St. Giles .....	7031	1.5
<b>Total of Central London.....</b>	<b>18,589</b>	<b>4.0</b>
Woolwich .....	9585	2.1
Greenwich .....	16,876	3.7
St. Olave, Southwark .....	10,055	2.2
Camberwell .....	26,851	5.9
Lewisham .....	14,592	3.2
<b>Total of South-East London .....</b>	<b>77,959</b>	<b>17.1</b>
St. Saviour, Southwark .....	14,494	3.2
Lambeth.....	32,961	7.3
Wandsworth .....	34,834	7.7
<b>Total of South-West London.....</b>	<b>82,289</b>	<b>18.2</b>
<b>GRAND TOTAL OF LONDON .....</b>	<b>455,063</b>	<b>100</b>

TABLE B.—*Classification of whole Population.*

Classification.		Total. (Section 80.)	
		No.	%
Without Servants.	Families averaging—		
	1. 4 or more persons to a room .....	6,919	1·5
	2. 3 & under 4 persons to a room .....	13,924	3·1
	3. 2 & under 3 persons to a room .....	44,713	9·9
		65,556	14·5
	4. 1 & under 2 persons to a room .....	92,070	20·2
With Servants.	5. Less than 1 person to a room .....	28,646	6·3
	6. All families occupying more than 4 rooms (mainly house-holders) .....	105,186	23·0
	Families averaging—		
	A 4 or more persons to 1 servant .....	32,003	7·0
		165,835	36·3
	B 1 to 3 persons to a servant, &c. ....	33,759	7·4
	C 1 to 3 persons to 2 servants, &c. ....	16,516	3·7
	D 3 or 4 persons to 3 servants, &c. ....	5,902	1·3
		22,418	5·0
	E 1 or 2 persons to 3 servants, &c. ....	5,302	1·2
	F 1 or 2 persons to 4 servants, &c. ....	2,816	·6
	G 1 or 2 persons to 5 servants, &c. ....	1,563	·3
	H 1 or 2 persons to 6 servants, &c. ....	2,223	·5
		11,904	2·6
Servants .....		63,511	14·0
GRAND TOTAL...		455,063	100

Without servants,  
294,965 persons, or  
97,027 families = 3·04  
persons per family.

With servants, 101,326  
persons, or 29,850  
families = 3·39 persons  
per family.

63,511

455,063





## APPENDIX B.—STEPNEY PAUPERISM.

## APPENDIX B

## STEPNEY PAUPERISM

The method adopted for tabulating the causes of poverty was as follows. To each cause I affixed an alphabetical symbol, using a capital letter where the cause given is the principal one, and a small letter where it is contributory, thus:

Cause.	Principal.	Contributory.	Father or Husband.	Mother or Wife.	Both.
Crime . . . . .	C	c	c <sup>1</sup>	c <sup>2</sup>	c <sup>3</sup>
Vice . . . . .	V	v	v <sup>1</sup>	v <sup>2</sup>	v <sup>3</sup>
Drink . . . . .	D	d	d <sup>1</sup>	d <sup>2</sup>	d <sup>3</sup>
Laziness . . . . .	L	l	l <sup>1</sup>	l <sup>2</sup>	l <sup>3</sup>
Pauper association . . . . .	P	p	p <sup>1</sup>	p <sup>2</sup>	p <sup>3</sup>
Hereditv . . . . .	H	h	h <sup>1</sup>	h <sup>2</sup>	h <sup>3</sup>
Mental disease . . . . .	M	m	m <sup>1</sup>	m <sup>2</sup>	m <sup>3</sup>
Temper (queer) . . . . .	Q	q	q <sup>1</sup>	q <sup>2</sup>	q <sup>3</sup>
Incapacity . . . . .	I	i	i <sup>1</sup>	i <sup>2</sup>	i <sup>3</sup>
Early marriage (girl) . . . . .	G	g	g <sup>1</sup>	g <sup>2</sup>	g <sup>3</sup>
Large family . . . . .	F	f	f <sup>1</sup>	f <sup>2</sup>	f <sup>3</sup>
Extravagance . . . . .	E	e	e <sup>1</sup>	e <sup>2</sup>	e <sup>3</sup>
Lack of work (unemployed) . . . . .	U	u	u <sup>1</sup>	u <sup>2</sup>	u <sup>3</sup>
Trade misfortune . . . . .	T	t	t <sup>1</sup>	t <sup>2</sup>	t <sup>3</sup>
Restlessness, roving, tramp . . . . .	R	r	r <sup>1</sup>	r <sup>2</sup>	r <sup>3</sup>
No relations . . . . .	N	n	n <sup>1</sup>	n <sup>2</sup>	n <sup>3</sup>
Death of husband . . . . .	W	w	w <sup>1</sup>	w <sup>2</sup>	w <sup>3</sup>
Desertion (abandoned) . . . . .	A	a	a <sup>1</sup>	a <sup>2</sup>	a <sup>3</sup>
Death of father or mother (orphan) . . . . .	O	o	o <sup>1</sup>	o <sup>2</sup>	o <sup>3</sup>
Sickness . . . . .	S	s	s <sup>1</sup>	s <sup>2</sup>	s <sup>3</sup>
Accident . . . . .	X	x	x <sup>1</sup>	x <sup>2</sup>	x <sup>3</sup>
Ill luck . . . . .	Y	y	y <sup>1</sup>	y <sup>2</sup>	y <sup>3</sup>
Old age . . . . .	Z	z	z <sup>1</sup>	z <sup>2</sup>	z <sup>3</sup>

t

As a further indication of character when the opposite of a fault is intended, the letter can be enclosed in brackets thus: (t) for industry, (d) for known sobriety or teetotaler.

There are few stories that cannot be very forcibly expressed by married condition, age, and three letters. As for example:

Martin Rooney	.	.	.	M	86	I z d	Incapable old man, who drinks.
Patrick Rooney	.	.	.	S	36	C h d	A criminal, hereditary pauper, and drunkard.
Sarah Truelove	.	.	.	M	66	D z p	Drunken old woman of pauper associations.
John Curtis	.	.	.	S	72	X z n	{ Single old man, without any relations, who has had an accident.
Eliza Green	.	.	.	Ch	4	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>2</sup>	Child whose father is dead and mother drinks.
Mary Carter	.	.	.	W	59(?)	(dl) S n z	{ Elderly widow of good character for sobriety and industry, with no relations, and ill.
Eliza Knight	.	.	.	M	£, (?)	(dl) M <sup>1</sup> S	{ Husband insane. This woman, who is sick, has a good character for sobriety and industry.

In the summary which follows a few words of history are added, but it will be found that the alphabetical cipher gives the gist of each case.

## SUMMARY OF STEPNEY STORIES

## L—Indoor Relief.

*Note.*— + implies longer period unknown. d = days. m = months. w = weeks.  
Occupations in brackets those of husband or father.

{ = Relations. { = Husband and wife.

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
1	(Able- Male	(bodied) Married	51	Pattern-maker	(Drink) D	9	Wife had medicine in 1880. His family left him in 1884. Lost work through drink. In and out since. Drunken and immoral. Husband left her. Children are as bad. Often in and out of workhouse.	Wife S d. <sup>1</sup> { Son, S h d. Grandson, { Dc. Daughter, V s h. { Diter-in-law, H w v. { Late Husband, S. { Brother, L m. Niece's { Husband, No. 1086. ...
2	Female	Widow	60	Lead worker	D p s	9		
3	"	"	54	None	D w	11 +	Re-admitted in 1878. Had been sleeping in closets, on dust-heaps, and doctored. Drinks.	
4	"	"	56	Needle-woman	D w	5	Husband died 1873. She sold his shop 18 months after for £20. Was passed from Poplar 1884, and has been chargeable to one or other parish since.	
5	(Infirm) Male	Married	68	Customs Officer	D	12	Dismissed for drink and theft. Partially paralysed. Wife lives with friends, who are comfortably off.	...

6	Female	Single	28	None	D	6 +	Chargeable many years. First record (1883) is that leave is stopped for returning drunk.	Brother, S.
7	Male	Widow'r	69	Carpenter	D	6	Seized with paralysis a few days before admission. Had been a great drinker.	...
8	"	"	81	General	D	8 +	Wife died in Sick Asylum (1881). Man was messenger at Relief Office, but drank too much.	{ Late wife, S z. { Sister-in-law, X. Wife, S d. <sup>1</sup>
9	"	Married	61	" (formerly School-master)	D	10	Had medical attendance from 1879 to 1887, when he was admitted. When out he lives at common lodging-houses and begs.	Wife, S d. <sup>1</sup>
10	Male	Widow'r	42	Potman	D	11	Had medicine in 1879. Wife died in June 1888.	Late wife, No. 1072.
11	Female	Child (In Schools)	13	...	D <sup>1</sup>	11	Man was admitted to Sick Asylum with a bad leg in April 1889. His children became chargeable during the same month. His sister says poverty is due entirely to drink.	Son, S h. Children, Nos. 11-13. Sisters, Nos. 11, 13.
12	Male	Child (In Schools)	9	...	D <sup>1</sup>	17 d +		
13	Female	Child (In Schools)	5	...	D <sup>1</sup>	17 d +		Father, No. 10.
14	Male	Married	63	Cooper	D	9 +	First recorded application in 1875. In 1880 man said his wife was dead. She returned to him in 1881, and they have had medical and other relief since.	...
15	Female	"	69	None	Z d <sup>1</sup>	7 +	Husband died 1873, and woman lived with her sons. Asked for relief in 1883. One son died in 1887, and was buried by Union. Mother and this son go into workhouse in 1888. Both drink to excess and use foul language.	...
16	"	Widow	66	Stallkeeper (Blind)	D	9 m	Drunkard, has had legs. Lived with No. 22 for 30 years. She left him in 1879.	...
17	Male	Single	26	...	I d	9 m	In 1881, the elder boy was sent to Smallpox Hospital with another brother and sister. Father died the same year, and mother got these three children into the schools.	...
18	"	"	66	Coal work	D v e	9	Had fits in 1881, and was admitted. Relieved several times since. Stays with daughters when out of workhouse.	{ Paramour, No. 22. { Nephew's children, { Nos. 19-21. Mother, No. 1006.
19	"	Child	16	...	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>3</sup> h	8		Paramour, No. 18.
20	"	"	14	...	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>3</sup> h	7		
21	Female	"	13	...	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>3</sup> h	7		Father, No. 1043. Grandmother, P d. Mother, D a.
22	"	Single	59	None	V p s	8		Daughter, V d.
23	"	Child	5	...	D <sup>2</sup> v <sup>3</sup> h	5		
24	Male	" (In Schools)	11	...	D <sup>2</sup> v <sup>3</sup> h	10	These children have been frequently relieved with mother. Parents deserted them in April 1889, and they became chargeable. Father in prison for desertion.	
25	"	Widow'r	61	Coal backer	D v e	2	Drunken immoral family. Turned wife out in 1877; she died 1884. Admitted homeless in 1887.	

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
26	(Infirm Male	contd.) Single	56	General Labourer and Hawker	(Drink contd.) D v i	1	Lived with a widow. Frequently drunk and disorderly. Tramps country when out of work-house.	Cousin, 8 <sup>th</sup> u. Cousin, S. d. Cousin's wife. No. 1003.
27	Female	Married (In Sick Asylum)	28	Tailoress	D <sup>3</sup> v a	5	This woman and her husband, a dock labourer, drank heavily. They had medical relief. In March 1889, the woman and children are passed from St. George's, East. Woman had a child by her husband's brother, born in Mile End Work-house 1887. Husband has left her; he has good work.	Woman's father, Z. Husband's father, Z.
28	Male	"	3	"	D <sup>2</sup> v <sup>2</sup>	1 m		Mother, No. 27.
29	"	"	4	"	A d <sup>3</sup> v <sup>2</sup>	1 m		...
30	"	"	8	"	A d <sup>3</sup> v <sup>2</sup>	1 m		...
31	Female	(In Schools) Widow	38	Dressmaker	D v w	2	Husband died 1875. Paralyse, drunken, and immoral. Was in London Hospital for 8 months in 1887.	...
32	"	Single	62	Washing	D v x	6	Fell down when drunk. Was in London Hospital for 13 weeks.	Paramour, R d v. Brother, V.
33	Male	Married		Sailmaker	D x	9	Had medicines for family. Run over in 1882, and ribs broken. Sold boots for drink.	Wife's niece, No. 34. C.
34	Female	Married (In Poplar Workhouse)	37	Prostitute (Workhouse)	D v h	...	Shocking bad character; nearly blind.	Wife's mother, S v. Uncle, No. 33.
35	Male	Married	67	Rigger	D h	12+	In Poplar Workhouse 1877-78. Went to relieving officer's house drunk. Two brothers in lunatic asylum.	Mother, Z. Brother, C d s. Daughter, S e. Two sons, M.
36	"	Single (In Poplar Workhouse)	58	General Labourer	D p	11+	Relieving officer noted, "Always been a pauper," when admitting this man in February 1878. He had a bad leg. Lives in lodging-houses when out.	...
37	Male	Married	67	Signwriter Charing	D p e	13	Man asked for admission when entitled to 12s. weekly from club. Admitted in a miserable condition 4 weeks later. Wife is noisy and drunken. Was admitted a month after man.	Son, L h. Son, D h. Daughter, S. Daughter, S d.
38	Female	"	56		D p e	13	Continuously chargeable since.	S. Daughter, S d.
39	Male	Widow	74	Dock Labourer (formerly Exciseman)	D p z	9	Had medicines when living with son. Had £50 bonus when discharged from excise (1864).	Son, D w p.
40	"	"	64	Watchman	D p z	19+	Before 1870 this man and his wife frequently had out-relief. "Drunken impostors." Now admitted through a fall.	Son, D h. Son's wife, No. 1006. Late wife, D.

41	"	Married	56	General Labourer	D l h	11	Had medicine for child in 1876; next year wife is admitted—ill. Both drink. Man got drunk which sent out by workhouse authorities to de-liver firewood.	Son, D l. Son and family, Nos. 1054-6. Man's mother, W.
42	Female	"	59	"	D l h	10		{ Wife and daughter-in-law, Nos. 1074-5.
43	Male	"	67	Ballast-heaver	D l p	10	Had a greengrocer's shop. Closed in 1878. Drinks.	Niece, V. Niece's son's family, A c l p. Niece's husband, No. 257.
44	"	"	65	Sawyer	D <sup>1</sup> l p	7	Wife had medicines in 1881; man out of work. He is a toper, and she has been. Man has rheumatic gout. Woman enters workhouse—ill—in 1886, and he is admitted later—destitute. Home (one room) very dirty.	{ Wife, D. <sup>1</sup> Wife's father, Z. Wife's sisters, S u <sup>1</sup> , S u <sup>1</sup> .
45	Female (In Sick Asylum)	"	66	"	D <sup>1</sup> l p	8		...
46	Male	Married	67	Packing-case maker	D l	11	Out of work at first application. When at work, loses time and gets drunk. Ill-treats wife	Man's brother, D e. Man's brother's wife, V d. <sup>1</sup>
47	"	"	69	Carpenter	D l	7	Wife left him and went to her son's. Man goes on tramp during summer months.	...
48	"	"	72	Labourer	D l e	12	Drinks and will not work. Wife left him on this account. Woman went out nursing, and came back to find furniture sold.	Niece, No. 1149.
49	Female	"	69	Nursing	D <sup>1</sup> l e	8	Does not care to work when his wife has scrubbing to do. Wife says drink brought man to this.	...
50	Male	"	64	Tobacco-pipe maker	D l z	6	German. Sailed from English ports 60 years. "If I had been a teetotaler, I need not have come to the Union."	...
51	"	Single	79	Seaman, A.B.	D e	4	Kept a greengrocer's shop, but failed. Drinks heavily. Wife's home sold in 1880. She enters workhouse and dies there in 1882.	...
52	"	Widow	78	Labourer (formerly Green-grocer)	D e	10	Pilot 23 years. £300 to £120 a year. Dissipated. In workhouse with wife for a month 5 years previous.	...
53	"	"	78	Channel Pilot (formerly Mate)	D e	8	Has been in Sick Asylum and workhouse frequently. Spends intervals with family. Was in sick club.	Wife, No. 1081.
54	"	Married	66	Coalwhipper	D e z	8	Broke his ribs in a drunken brawl, and was sent to Sick Asylum. Out of work.	Son, No. 119.
55	"	"	65	Stevedore	D u	7		

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
56	(Infirm) Male	Married	49	Dock Labourer	(Drink contd.) D w o	6	First wife died in Sick Asylum. Man drinks, and is partially paralysed.	...
57	"	"	70	Excavator	D u z	4	Out of work 8 or 4 months; man went into work-house. "Dirty, drunken lot." Wife a tailoress.	Wife, D u. <sup>1</sup>
58	"	"	67	Wood Engraver	D t <sup>2</sup>	2	Came to London in 1853. Failed in business. Landlord called him a "drunken old scamp."	...
59	Female	Widow	35	Needle-woman, etc.	D w h	5	Woman had medicines in 1854-5. Rooms very dirty. Relieving officer saw her in bed with rum bottle by her side. A great drinkard. Husband died in Sick Asylum in 1857. She got two boys into the school; the other ran away, but in November 1858 he was admitted with her.	Father's parents, S d.
60	Male (In Schools)	Child	13	...	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>3</sup> h	14		
61	" (In Schools)	Child	10	...	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>3</sup> h	14		
62	" (In Schools)	Child	8	...	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>3</sup> h	14		
63	Female	Widow	57	...	D w s	11	Husband died in infirm workhouse (1852). Had 3 children in parish schools then.	Late husband, S q d.
64	"	"	75	Needle-woman	D w z	Many.	Very drunken. Sleeps in casual wards when out.	...
65	"	"	63	Servant	D q w	11 +	Husband died in 1862. Woman passed from White-chapel in 1878. Lived a year with sister; quarrelled with her in 1882. A rover from 1882 to 1886.	Sister, M.
66	Male	Single	51	Dock Labourer	D s h	1	Met with accident during drinking bout. Relieving officer found him on sacking in filthy room.	(Aunt, W. Late father, X d. Sister, V d. Two nieces, S h.
67	"	Married	59	...	D s h	7	Sent to Sick Asylum within a fortnight of coming into parish—rheumatism. Wife, a daughter of No. 1019, leaves him. Dirty, drunken family.	Son, S g h.
68	"	"	61	Dock Labourer	D s u	4	Man had acne and was admitted. Wife was in infirm workhouse. In October 1886 man (out of work 6 weeks) was admitted.	Wife, S d.
69	"	"	53	Navy	D s <sup>3</sup>	11	Drunken; ill-treats wife. She and children keep the home, and at last combine to keep the man out.	Son, S d. <sup>1</sup>

70	"	"	70	Boatbuilder	D <sup>3</sup> s e	10	Man ill in 1879. Had medicines when club allowance was just out. Four months after man and wife go into infirm workhouse. Wife died in 1885. Heavy drinkers. Good workman; should have saved.	Late wife, D m.
71	"	"	50	Dock Labourer	n D s	8	Wife got medicines for him in 1831. Sons will not help because he ill-treated her. Drinks.	...
72	"	Widow	77	Dock Labourer	D s z	12	Man and wife in sick asylum in 1877. Furniture taken for rent in 1879. Wife died in 1883. Man tramps country.	Step-daughter, M.
73	"	Married	66	Blacksmith and Dock Labourer	D z p	3	Worked twenty years at one place. Lived with daughter. She could not keep him and he could not get work. Wife lives with another daughter.	(Daughter, A d h. Son-in-law, L v d. Family all of pauper class.)
74	Female	Single	74	Bootbinder	D z	3	Father left her a house. She sold it for £90. Drinks heavily. Children follow her about.	...
75	Male	Widow	61	Watchman on river	D z	1 m	Foreman at wharf. Dismissed through drink in 1857. Wife died in 1886. Cheat bad. Has quarrelled with son.	...
76	"	"	76	Cabman	D z	9	In 1879 he was in Mile End Workhouse with his wife. Neglected her. Both drank heavily.	Late wife, D s. Daughter, M.
77	(Sick) Male	Married	56	Labourer	D	8	First had medicines for rheumatism caused by drink. Now has catarrh.	Son, S h u. Daughter, S h. Daughter, S u. <sup>1</sup>
78	"	"	45	"	D v u	5	Man and wife are violent abusive drunkards. Man's health broken now. Woman a good beggar. Got help from C. O. S. while man was working four days a week.	Son, D. <sup>1</sup> Nephew, S.
79	Female	Widow	46	Washing	D p	4 m	Husband died in 1888. Son applies for medicines, and woman is admitted. Drunken and quarrelsome family.	Son, G s <sup>2</sup> d. Husband's mother, W f.
80	Male	Single	32	Dock Labourer	D p s	5	Sent to Sick Asylum from a common lodging-house in 1886. Partially paralysed. Been in several times since. Rheumatic gout.	...
81	"	"	35	Ballast heaver	D h s	2	Lived with mother, who obtained first order. He says illness—pearsy—was caused by drink.	Mother, No. 1167. Brother, S. Do., S d.
82	"	Married	72	General Dealer (formerly Master Mariner)	D <sup>3</sup> l e <sup>3</sup>	4	Wife applied for medicine for child in 1885. Husband gone to the Derby—selling. He had lost ships. She had a shop and sold it. Both drink.	Son, S d. <sup>3</sup>

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
82a	(Sick) Male	Widow	74	Shoemaker	(Drink) De v	20 +	Man is and wife was drunken and disreputable. Had a shop and sold it through drink.	Son, V d h. Son, L d h. Daughter, V d h. Daughter, V d h.
83	"	Single	49	Barber	De s	2 w	Had shop of his own. "Drink and horse-racing have been my ruin." Came from Salvation Army Shelter.	...
84	Female	Married	31	(Printer's Labourer)	De s	5 d	Husband drinks and neglects family. Earns 25s. to 30s. a week. Woman has phtisis. Husband to pay 7s. a week.	...
85	Male	Single	46	Seaman	De	5½	Invalided home from Africa. Developed phtisis. Lodges at "pub." before admission. Violent and drunken.	...
86	Female	Widow	73	(Kept by sons)	De	4	Lived with two sons in 1854, and with a third in 1857. Was in Sick Asylum through a fall in 1856. Gets weaker in 1868, and goes in. Drunken disreputable family.	Son, No. 1052. Late son, S h. Son, No. 87.
87	Male	Single	43	Coal Porter	D h v	3	Had bronchitis and ulcerated leg. Came out of Sick Asylum for four months in 1886. Vicious and cunning.	...
88	Female	Married	37	Needle-woman	D u a	9	Often had relief for children. Husband leaves her -ill. Both drink.	Husband, D r a. Sister, D v.
89	Male	Child	10	...	D' l	2 m +	Father sent to prison. Admitted with mother and four brothers. Ophthalmia.	Mother, L e d. Four brothers, D s. Daughter, S. D her's husband's mother, No. 252.
90	"	Married	44	General Labourer	D l	3	In 1885 woman had a miscarriage. Home dirty and untidy. Both drunken and abusive. Wife is sent to Asylum in 1886. Six weeks after man and family are admitted. Will not keep work when it is found for him.	Three children, D s m. Wife, S d. Son, S d.
91	Female (In Asylum)	"	46	Machinist	M d	4	Admitted after having a fit. Out twice since. Used to drink.	...
92	Male	Married	67	Glazier	D s	1½	Sent to Sick Asylum in 1880. Deen there before. Gout and rupture. Drinks heavily. Not worked for years.	...
93	"	"	50	General Labourer	D s	9 +		...

94	Female	"	58	Shell-fish Stall	D s t	6	Violent drinking woman. Has an ulcerated leg. Husband often had relief before she applied.	Husband, T z d.
95	"	"	63	"	D z p s	4	In 1883 woman and husband sent to workhouse. Previous application for man since 1877 caused by drink. Woman ill since 1887—debility.	Husband, D s p. Brother-in-law, S d p.
96	(Able) Male	Married	56	General Labourer	(Sickness) S h u	6	Man was doing casual work when relief was first given. Helped by friends. Both admitted in 1886. Only out for short periods in the summer since.	Brother, S h.
97	Female	"	56	None	S h	7	Swede. Had been ill a year with rheumatism when he applied. Lived on savings. Only out for a few days since.	...
98	Male	Single	49	Seaman	S e	3	Casual worker. Had medicines for rheumatism. Only once out of workhouse since he entered in October 1888.	Father, Z t. Son, S w.
99	"	Widow	57	Waterside Labourer	S u	3½	Sight was failing when woman was admitted. Has not been out since.	...
100	Female	Widow	53	Tailoress	S w z	2	Brought by sister's husband. Subject to fits, and has lost memory.	Sister-in-law, No. 102. Sister's stepson, A s.
101	Male	Single	20	Vanboy	S m	1½	Lived with a man, who took her "off the streets." Thinks people are going to kill her.	Sister, S c. Paramour, father of No. 200.
102	Female	"	26	None	M v	2 m	Had medicines for wife from 1878 to 1885, when she died. He lived with her sister a short time and then entered workhouse. Was an inmate in 1881.	Late wife, S.
103	(Infirm) Male	Widow	70	General Labourer	S c p	11	Suffered with chest disease. The woman he lived with could not keep him.	...
104	"	"	53	Engineer's Labourer	S v	3 m	This couple lived together five years. In 1887 woman was admitted in a miserable condition—bronchitis. Man followed soon after. In 1879 woman was living with another man.	Son, No. 1047.
105	"	"	67	Coalworker	n Z v	8		...
106	Female	Single	59	Sweetmeat Maker	S v p	2	Lived with and kept by daughter. Relieved during sickness. Much drink. Admitted with rheumatism.	Son, No. 1022. Son's wife, No. 1023.
107	(In Sick Asylum)	Widow	69	...	S d	6		...
108	Male	Widow	68	Labourer at Boneboiler's	S d	9	Wife died in Sick Asylum (1881). He was earning 21s. a week. He is admitted in 1883 with bronchitis.	...



No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
109	(Infirm) Male	Widow'r	59	Tinker and Hawker	(Sickness contd.) S d	12	Partially paralysed and has gout. Stays at common lodging-houses when out.	...
110	"	"	59	Boilermaker	S d	6	In January 1883 admitted to sick asylum with rheumatic gout. Six admissions since.	Sister, W. d. Niece, S u. Niece, No. 965.
111	"	Single	62	Hammerman	S d	12	Tramps country. Lives in common lodging-houses. Often in sick asylum with ulcerated leg.	...
112	"	Widow'r	52	Carpenter	S d h	8	Several applications for admission. Rheumatic gout. An Oddfellow; scratched 1879.	(Mother, Z. h. Late sister, S p. Brother-in-law, No. 1042. Late father, D.
113	"	Child	13	...	S <sup>1</sup> d <sup>3</sup> o <sup>1</sup>	1½	Father, a broker's man, was sent to Sick Asylum and children to schools at same time. Man died, and parish buried him. Widow makes buttonholes. Both were dirty and drunken.	...
114	"	"	11	"	S <sup>1</sup> d <sup>3</sup> o <sup>1</sup>	1½	Admitted in 1881. Not worked for eight weeks through rheumatic gout, aggravated by drink.	...
115	"	Widow'r	69	Carpenter	S d z	8	Has medicine for rheumatism in 1878. Relieving officer then notes—"Known for many years . . . drunken old fellow."	...
116	"	Married	73	General Labourer	S d z	11+	Man had had out-relief and been in Sick Asylum several times before first record (1880). Has rheumatic gout. Wife and children had frequent relief until 1883.	...
117	"	"	60	"	S p	9+	Husband died in Sick Asylum in 1881, and widow was admitted. Came out in 1885.	Wife, S p. Three children, S p.
118	Female	Widow	70	Washing	S p	8	Epileptic. Had not worked for three years when brought by father.	Son and his family. See Nos. 1093-95. Father, No. 55.
119	Male	Single	24	Factory hand	S h	1½	Brought up in parish schools. Goes to service. Is subject to fits and has to leave.	Two sisters, O. 1
120	Female	"	20	Servant	S h	4	Rheumatism. Lives in common lodging-houses. Has been admitted six times.	...
121	Male	"	51	Labourer	S p e	4	Paralysed. Has sold "lights" at — Bridge since 1867. Lives in common lodging-houses in summer; workhouse in winter.	...
122	"	"	49	Sells matches	S p n	10	Epileptic from third year. Parents have eight younger children.	...
123	Female	"	22	...	S f	5		...

124	Male	Child	11	...	S f u <sup>1</sup>	8	Father a dock labourer. All family have weak eyes and are delicate. Frequent applications for medical relief since 1881. This child has catarrh.	Mother, S f u <sup>1</sup> . Three br'rs, S f u <sup>1</sup> . Two sisters, S f u <sup>1</sup> . Uncle, No. 126.
125	"	Single (In Sick Asylum)	39	Seaman	S e	1	Seized with paralysis when at sea. Came to London after being 6 months in Southampton Infirmary.	Nephew, No. 125.
126	"	Widow'r	70	Carman	X z	8	Was run over and disabled. Had a year's sick pay from Foresters, and then became chargeable.	{ Son, No. 128. Sister, cause unk'n.
127	"	"	54	General Labourer	S e	7	Man had medicines for rheumatism in August 1882; in following December the boy and he were admitted. Both re-admitted in 1884. Man has a bad leg.	{ Son, S. Son-in-law, S d. Mother-in-law, No. 130. Daughter, No. 1101. Granddaughter, No. 1100.
128	"	Single (At Schools)	17	...	S <sup>3</sup> e	11	Often ill, as are his son and daughter.	{ Daughter-in-law, S w. Late mother, S. Brother, S u. Brother-in-law, M.
129	"	Widow'r	52	Iron Driller	n Z	4	Unable to work. Children cannot keep her.	...
130	Female	Widow	74	Tailoress	S i	5	Arm disabled. Was supported by brother until he lost his work. Mother died in Sick Asylum.	...
131	"	Single	51	Needle-woman	S i	6 m	Came home from sea in 1887—blind. Admitted destitute in 1888. Brother in America.	...
132	Male	"	46	Seaman	S i	1	Paralysed. Had not worked for 18 months before applying. In two benefit societies, and has pension 4s. per week. Wife supports children. Respectable sober people. C. O. S. help.	...
133	"	Married	36	Stationer's Shopman	S i	11	Has had eyesight. Sent to infirm. workhouse in 1879. Has been out two or three times since.	...
134	"	Single	53	Dock Lab'r, (formerly Hamm'rman)	S i	3½	These children have been chargeable two or three times when father was ill. They are weak, and apparently share their father's disability. Parents are described as clean and sober. The mother has an ulcerated leg; she is rather rough.	Father, No. 1126. Mother, No. 139.
135	Male	Child	8	...	S <sup>1</sup> u <sup>1</sup> p <sup>1</sup>	3½		{ Children, Nos. 135-38. Husband, No. 1126.
136	Female	"	6	...	S <sup>1</sup> u <sup>1</sup> p <sup>1</sup>	3½		
137	Female	(In Schools)	1	...	S <sup>1</sup> u <sup>1</sup> p <sup>1</sup>	1		
138	Male	(In Sick Asylum)	4	...	S <sup>1</sup> u <sup>1</sup> p <sup>1</sup>	3		
139	Female	(In Sick Asylum)	39	Bottlewasher	S p	6		

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
(140)	(Infirm Male)	Widow'r	71	Dock Labourer	(Sickness S u e	11	Had medical aid several years. Work very irregular. Wife died in Sick Asylum.	{ Daughter, D <sup>s</sup> u h. D <sup>r</sup> ter-in-law, A v. Grand-daughter, A v. Grand-daughter, No. 1066.
(141)	" (In Sick Asylum)	Single	54	Porter	S h e	9	Lived in common lodging-houses for 14 years. Goes into Sick Asylum when ill.	Brother, see No. 1064. Brother's wife's father, No. 140.
142	Male	Single	51	Labourer	S u (e)	7	Regular work in Docks for 15 years. Saved £110 and supported mother. Steady and sober. Chronic indigestion.	Late wife, S u. <sup>1</sup>
143	"	Widow'r	56	Stevedore's Labourer	S u i	11	Wife had medicines and died in 1878. Man was admitted in 1886. Has lost an eye and is nearly blind.	...
144	"	Single	24	Dock Labourer	S u	3 m	Born in India. Sent to England by Government. Admitted from Salvation Army Shelter with rheumatism.	Late wife, S i.
145	"	Widow'r	67	Dock Labourer	S u	7	Had medicines for self and wife—out of work. Wife died in 1886. Just before she had £40 and "went on the drink."	Daughter-in-law, S a. Children, Nos. 859, 860.
146	"	Married	62	Carman	S u	2	Rheumatism. Been in Sick Asylum from Poplar before coming to Stepney. Wife has left him.	...
147	"	"	38	Warehouseman	S t y	3	Discharged in 1884 after 14 years' service. Casual work since. In Sick Asylum in 1886. Consumptive. Wife goes to work at jam factory. Quiet and respectable.	...
148	"	Single	75	Cooper	S u n	8	Man admitted with ulcerated leg (1881). Had only earned 14s. weekly for some time previous.	...
149	Female	Widow	62	Washing	S w	9	Has wintered in workhouse since 1880. Hopping and pea-picking in summer. Has rheumatism.	...
150	" (In Poplar Workhouse)	"	59	Dust-sifter	S w	11	Had medicines in 1878. Worked until 1885, when she was admitted to Sick Asylum. Shifted about since.	...
151	Female	Widow	57	Match-box maker	S w	4	Has bad health and been in Sick Asylum. Lived with brothers. Work slack, so they cannot keep her. Decent.	Brother, S <sup>2</sup> u.

152	"	"	72	Hawker and Canvas-worker	S w	4	Was very ill and had medicines. Room was clean and comfortable. Two years later her furniture was gone and she was admitted.	Sister, No. 679. Nephew, X.
153	"	"	62	Fish-packer	S w	1 m	Husband, a commercial traveller, died; left her with three children. Sight failing, she took to fish-packing 3 months before applying. Sold home.	...
154	"	"	52	Waistcoat-finisher	S w	9	Husband died in 1879. He had been in Sick Asylum. Woman has medicines — bad leg. Boy in Dr. Barnardo's Home.	...
155	"	"	50	Street Vocalist	S w	4	Lived with sister, a tailoress. Taken ill; had medicine for 2 months and then went into workhouse.	...
(156)	"	"	64	Washing	n S d <sup>1</sup>	11	Husband a drunkard, died in workhouse in 1888. Known to relieving officer many years.	{ Daughter, D a. Grand-daughter, No. 157. Late Husband, D a.
(157)	" (In Schools)	Child	14	Scholar	O v <sup>2</sup>	14	Illegitimate. Born while mother was coming to Relief Office. Chargeable since birth.	Late Husband, Z s.
158	Female	Widow	69	Needle-woman	n S z	5	Husband died in Sick Asylum. Lived with step-daughter. Was taken ill and step-daughter could not keep her.	Wife, Z s.
159	Male	Married	81	Dock Labourer	S n z	11	He and his wife lived 18 years in one court. Works on a farm in the summer. Has an ulcerated leg.	Sister-in-law, A d. <sup>1</sup> Niece's Husband, No. 1048. Niece, D <sup>1</sup> p. Niece, P.
(160)	"	"	66	General Labourer	S x p	7	Man had medicines in 1884; met with an accident at Docks in 1885. Company allowed wife 6s. a week while the man was in the workhouse. He is at home ill from December 1886 to July 1887, when both are admitted.	...
(161)	Female	" (In Sick Asylum)	62	"	S p x <sup>1</sup>	5	Man sprained his ankle. Two months later his wife was admitted to Sick Asylum. Man not getting better, was admitted soon after. Had nice home. Was in a club 12 years.	...
(162)	Female	Married	54	Pork	S x <sup>1</sup>	1	After mother's death (1873) woman let lodgings until taken ill (1879), when she was passed to Stepney from Mile End.	...
(163)	Male	"	51	Butcher	S x <sup>1</sup>	1	Is paralysed and has chronic bronchitis. Memory almost gone. Used to earn 14s. a week.	Son, S. Aunt, No. 1190.
164	Female	Single	72	Lets Lodgings	S y	10	Had medicines in 1883. Was admitted in January 1889. Sick, poor, and in a wretched condition.	Son, No. 1097.
165	Male	"	42	Hawks laces	S m	11	Family had frequent medical relief since 1878. Man has a bad leg. Wife is partially supported.	Wife, S p.
166	"	Widow'r	55	Dock Labourer	S	4 m		
167	"	Married	63	General Labourer	S	9		

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
168	(Infirm) Male	Single	56	General Labourer	(Sickness) S	contd. 4	Has gout in hand. Was in Sick Asylum in 1887 and 1888. Relations unknown.	...
169	Female	Widow	71	Monthly Nurse	S	34	Husband & mate, died at sea (1856). Son trained in Parish School. Had out-relief. Said to be a drunkard.	Son, O. <sup>1</sup>
170	Male	Single	49	Watchman at Lodging-house	S	4	Was removed from common lodging-house to Sick Asylum. Worked there for 5 years. Had paralytic stroke in 1887.	...
171	"	Married	62	Butcher	S	2	Paralysed. Wife supported him for 3 years—washing. Has gone to live with her daughter.	...
172	"	"	40	Stevodore's Labourer	S	4 m	Paralysed 2½ years before applying. Wife has small shop. In Hearts of Oak Benefit Society.	Wife's mother, Z ?
173	"	"	72	Coalworker	S z d	5	Supported by wife for 7 months before asking for medicine. Admitted 5 years later. Had not worked in interim.	Late wife's sister, S w.
174	Female	Widow	62	Washing	S z p	8	Had medicine since 1881. Gradually gets worse. In Sick Asylum in 1883.	...
175	"	"	65	Leadworker	S z p	12	In Sick Asylum in 1877, then went to sister's. Admitted destitute in 1878, and not been out since.	{ Sister, S h. Nephew, D.
176	Male	Widow'r	69	Shipwright	S z u	8 m	Lost situation after nearly 80 years' service through sickness. Respectable and sober. Forester 80 years.	Step-daughter, W.
177	Female	Widow	68	Charing	S z w	8	Husband died in 1882. Both of good character; sober and clean. Only one son can help.	{ Son, S n. Daughter, S u h. Son-in-law, No. 1015.
178	"	"	69	Hawker	S z w	3	Catarth. Sister got her into Sick Asylum. Only been out for 3 weeks since.	...
179	Male	Widow'r	76	General Labourer	S h i	11 +	Hand partially disabled. Had out-relief before record begins. In summer joins his wife and daughters, and works in fields.	{ Late son, S h. Son, S h d. Son's mother-in-law, W s.
180	Female	Widow	71	Needle-woman	S z n	5	Husband died 1868. Has varicose veins. Lived with her daughter until her death just before first admission.	...
181	Male	Widow'r	72	Ship's cook	S z	2 m	Brought by sister-in-law. Been off ship 4 months. Sick and destitute.	...

182	Female	Single	67	Servant	S z	2	Turned out of her place because she could not do her work. Found in churchyard—ill—by a woman who kept her two days.	...
183	"	Widow	85	...	S z	3	Daughter asked for medicines. Relieving officer saw woman on "heap of rubbish," and sent her to Sick Asylum.	Daughter, S n. <sup>1</sup> (Son's wife's mother, No. 646. Son, S. Son, S. Late daughter, S. Grandchildren, O. <sup>1</sup>
184	"	"	66	Rope-worker	S z	8	First applied for daughter's children. Had medicines, and lived with another daughter until 1888.	...
185	Male	Married	68	Dk. Lab'r (formerly Sailor)	S z	4	Has not been to sea for 20 years. Wife chafes, but does not earn enough to keep both.	...
186	"	Widow'r	70	Bricklayer's Labourer	S z	12	Had medicine in 1878; had been out of work 9 months. Entered workhouse in 1880. Only out for a few days since.	Late wife, S p. Daughter, S d p.
187	"	"	75	Shopkeeper and Dock Labourer	S z	14	Daughter kept him until he had bronchitis. He was then sent to Sick Asylum. Four sons have families.	...
188	"	"	63	Dk. Lab'r (formerly Sailor)	S z	11	Had rheumatism. Lived with son in 1878. Wife died in 1872.	Son, U h a. <sup>3</sup> Daughter - in - law, S h.
189	Female	Single	69	Cleaning	S z	7	Lived some years with married sister. Has been a nurse.	...
190	Male	Married	68	Stevodore's Labourer	S z	6	Man had medicines in 1883. Home kept by wife and children. Admitted in 1887; out once since.	...
191	Female	Single	65	...	S z	23	Had out-relief (4s. weekly) from 1866 to 1887. Had an attack of paralysis, and was admitted to Sick Asylum.	...
192	"	Widow	78	Servant	S z	13	Husband died in an infirmary. Woman left situation—ill—the day before she was admitted.	...
193	"	Single	69	"	S z	5	Left situation—ill. Lived a month with brother; then admitted. Came out to brother's funeral.	Sister-in-law, W.
194	Male	Widow'r	82	Fish-curer	S z	7	Admitted ill, and sons ordered to pay. Except two sons, his children are low, drunken, and criminal.	{ Son, S t p. Son, C. Son's 3 children, C. Daughter, No. 1067. Daughter's children, No. 883-84.

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
(195	( <i>Infirm</i> Female	<i>contd.</i> Widow	65	Sack-mending Dock Labourer	( <i>Sickness</i> S z	9	Chronic bronchitis. Kept room clean. In Burial club.	{ Daughter, S h. Son, S h.
(196	Male	Married	70	"	X z	11	Worked for Dock Company 35 years. Met with accident, and Company allowed 5s. a-week for 8 months. Then entered workhouse.	{ Daughter, S h. Daughter, husband's mother, No. 199.
(197	"	"	66	"	S z	4 m	Worked 37 years at Docks. Had rheumatism when admitted. Wife, who had not worked for 12 years, went to son-in-law's to live. Joined her husband a month later "as he was going to stop in."	Son-in-law, S h. Son-in-law, S h.
(198	Female	"	63	"	n Z	3 m		
199	( <i>Sick</i> ) Female	Single	51	Washing	S v	2	Lived with a navy for many years—until 1886. Admitted to Sick Asylum in 1887. Debility.	Paramour, S e.
200	"	Child	6	"	S v d	4	Mother imprisoned for neglecting her. Had catarrh when admitted.	Father, D c. Mother, D v.
201	"	Widow	80	Tailorress	S d	10	Admitted with husband in 1879. Both drank. Has not been out since husband died in Sick Asylum (1883).	Late husband, D.
202	Male	Married	67	General Labourer	S d	10 +	Chronic bronchitis. Had been in Sick Asylum for 2 years before admission in 1879. Between 1879-1889 there are 37 applications for him.	Wife, No. 1194.
203	"	"	73	Sawyer	S d	6	Had rheumatism since 1885; now paralysed. Old employer gave him 5s. a week in 1886 to keep him out of workhouse.	...
204	Female	"	39	None	S d <sup>1</sup>	9	Has had medicines for children. Husband drinks. She is admitted on daughter's application.	{ Son, S c <sup>1</sup> d. Daughter, S d <sup>1</sup>
205	"	Child	1	"	S d <sup>3</sup>	14 d	Parents drink. Admitted with mother in April 1889.	{ Father, No. 1077. Late mother, S d <sup>3</sup>
206	Male	Single	51	Waterman	S d p	11	Has rheumatic gout. In Sick Asylum in 1878, and has medicine at intervals since. Lives in common lodging-houses after mother's death.	{ Late mother, S p. Brother, No. 1117.
207	"	"	44	Labourer	S d p	2 w	Lived with mother and sister. Dirty drinking set. Has bronchitis. Not worked for months when sister applied.	{ Mother, S v d. Late Father, S d. Brother, S d. Sister, S d.

208	"	Married	40	Coppersmith	S d e	4 m	Wife took children and left man in 1886—drink. He followed her 12s. a week. Average earnings 90s. a week until December 1888.	...
209	"	"	41	Hawker	S d i	11½	Admitted to Sick Asylum with injured knee (1877). Home dirty. Two children sent to Parish Schools.	Brother, S.
210	"	Single	55	Farrier	S d u	2 m	Rheumatic gout. Used to drink. Irregular work for 10 years.	...
211	"	Widow	59	General Labourer	n S d u	10	Has rheumatic gout; gets worse after 1885. Often in Sick Asylum after that date.	Daughter, C <sup>1</sup> p.
212	Female	Widow	70	"	S d z	3	A great drinker. Partially paralysed since 1875. Husband got medicines for her in 1886. He died in 1887.	...
213	Male	Single	34	Labourer	S p d	3	Admitted with ulcerated leg, and stayed 2 years. Discharged, but readmitted a few months after.	...
214	"	"	37	"	S p	3	An impostor. Lives at common lodging-houses. Has phthisis.	...
(215	"	Married	47	General Labourer	S p	11	Admitted to Sick Asylum in 1878. Wife in Lunatic Asylum. Children go into workhouse.	Father, Z.
(216	"	"	49	"	S p	9	In 1880 poisoned his hand and had medicine. Children also have medicine. Has rheumatic gout, 1887-89.	Brother, No. 215.
217	"	Single	37	Dock Labourer	S p	6 m	Hemoptysis. Admitted from a common lodging-house in November 1888, and again in April 1889.	...
218	Male	Single	45	Labourer	S p	5	Admitted from common lodging-house in 1884, and again in 1886. Not out since. Arthritis.	{ Grandmother, Z v w. Father, D e l Mother, D l l Two brothers, D s l l Aunt, No. 1188.
219	Female	"	16	"	S h	9 +	Was in Parish Schools in 1880. Has ophthalmia, and cannot keep a situation.	...
220	"	Widow	67	Washing	S p w	11 +	Husband died 1875. In Sick Asylum in 1878. Has had medicine, and been in workhouse since. Not out since 1887.	...
221	"	Married	30	(Bricklayer's Labourer)	S i	2½	Discharged from hospital as incurable. Husband looks half-witted; casual work.	...
222	"	"	41	(Blind Street Musician)	S i	6 m	Has medicines in 1888, and goes in Sick Asylum. Debility. Husband cruel and beats her.	Daughter, No. 1104.
223	Male	Single	39	Labourer	S e p	3	Lived in lodging-houses since 17th year. In Sick Asylum twice in 1886, and again in 1887 and 1888. Phthisis.	...

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
224	Male	(Sick) Single	56	General Labourer	(Sickness) Sep	4	Lived 9 years in lodging-house. Admitted with an ulcerated leg in 1885, and twice since.	...
225	"	"	33	Fish-curer	Sep	2½	Bronchitis. Admitted from lodging-house.	...
226	"	"	38	Fish-Porter	Sep	1 d	Bronchitis. Not worked for 3 weeks. Sister helped him.	...
227	"	Widow'r	39	Dock Labourer	Se	6 w	Had a bad knee and could not work. Lodged at a coffee-house. Casual worker.	...
228	"	Married	59	Ballast-heaver (Bricklayer)	Se	9	Wife got an order for him in 1890; he was too bad to attend hospital. Heart disease. Admitted 1888.	{ Daughter, V h. Son, D.
229	Female	"	46	"	Se u¹	6 w	Rheumatism. Medical order obtained, and woman sent to Sick Asylum next day. Man's work irregular.	Father-in-law, Z.
230	Male	Single	36	Dock Labourer	Su	1½	Bronchitis. Lost situation in 1887; out of work 2 months when he applied. Went in Sick Asylum 1888.	Mother, S q.
231	"	Widow'r	56	"	Sw	8	Has bronchitis in winter, and sometimes goes in Sick Asylum. Casual worker.	{ Son, S l. Daughter, S d.¹ Daughter's children, Nos. 1084-86.
232	Female	Married	47	None	Su¹	2 w	Husband out of work 3 weeks. Obtained medicine for wife—pneumonia. Goes in 3 days after.	...
233	"	"	31	Lead-worker	Su¹	2	Had a miscarriage. Husband paid doctor for a week and then applied. Home clean. Only 2 days' work a week for man.	...
234	"	Widow	47	Factory-hand	Sw d¹	3	Bronchitis. Goes into Sick Asylum. Worse in winter. Husband died 1886.	...
235	"	"	35	Pickle-worker	Sw	2 d	Woman's sister asked for her admission. Very ill.	Late husband, S.
236	"	"	50	Washing	Sw	3 m	Kept by nephew—work uncertain. Has bronchitis. Lived with daughter until her admission. Been in workhouse and Sick Asylum.	...
237	"	"	73	"	Sw	4½	Picked up by police and taken to workhouse. Daughter takes her out; 2 months later she consents to go in. Paralyzed.	Late husband, S z.
238	"	"	69	Tailor	Sw z	4 m		...

239	Male	Single	57	Labourer at Dry Dock	S l i	11	Sent to Sick Asylum in 1878. In and out since. Chronic rheumatism. Lived in lodging-houses when out since 1884.	...
240	"	Child	1	"	S o¹	3 m	Father, a coloured man, died at sea (1887). Mother had medicines for him.	...
241	Female	Widow	65	Needle-woman	n Sw	4 m	Italian. Son came from Italy and sent for her. He married a drunken Irish girl and could not keep his mother.	...
242	Male	Widow'r	62	General Labourer	Sn	9	Has a bad leg. Divides his time between Sick Asylum and a common lodging-house.	...
243	Female	Widow	61	Hawking & Washing	Sn	4	Has an ulcerated leg. Has had medicines and been chargeable indoors several times. Dislikes going in.	...
244	"	Single	41	Washing Dock	Sm	8 m	Passed from Whitechapel. Epileptic.	...
245	Male	Married	65	Dock Labourer	S	2½	Bronchitis. Had medicines in 1886. No work. Again in 1888 for 3 months. Room fairly comfortable. Admitted in 1889.	...
246	Female	Single	64	Charing	S	13 +	In June 1877 woman was ill and wanted to go into Sick Asylum where she had been a year before. Not out since.	...
247	"	"	19	Factory-hand	S	3 w	Pleurisy. Mother applied for her. There are seven younger children and father has been ill a year. C. O. S. are sending him away.	...
248	Male	"	37	Ship's Fireman	S	1 w	Bronchitis. Home from sea 2 months. Stayed with cousin.	...
249	"	"	47	Painter and Paper-hanger	S	2 w	Rheumatism. Had been in Sick Asylum from Poplar before coming to Stepney.	...
250	"	Widow'r	66	General Labourer	S	11	Admitted to workhouse in 1878 with Rheumatism. Out in 1879 but not since. In Sick Asylum since 1881.	...
251	"	Single	34	"	S	4	Admitted from common lodging-house in 1885 and twice since.	Brother, S p.
252	Female	Widow	66	Hawker of China	S	5 w	Had a paralytic stroke. Lived on savings. Becoming worse, she was admitted. Room clean.	{ Mother, Z p. Son, S h. Son, S s. Son's wife's parents, Nos. 90, 91.

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
253	(Sick) Male	Married	50	Engine-fitter	(Sickness) S	1 m	Had bad knee. Admitted on father's application. Lived in lodgings. Wife and children at Walworth.	...
254	"	Single	18	...	S	3 w	An illegitimate child who was taken by Dr. Barnardo. Was ill at his Labour House for 8 months before admission.	...
255	Female	"	38	None	S	3 m +	Has had fits since birth. Applied in 1889 as father could not keep her. Had been in before.	...
256	Male	Married	39	General Labourer	S	1 m	Admitted to Sick Asylum after being a month in hospital. Sober and hardworking. C. O. S. allow wife 8s. a week.	...
257	"	"	58	Dock Labourer	S	1	Rheumatism. Had medicines in 1888 and was admitted in 1889. In club, but out of benefit.	(Daughter - in-law, A c l p. Four grandchildren, A c l p. (Wife's Uncle, No. 44.
258	Male	Single	43	Lab'r at Tea Warehouse	S	1 m	Had not worked for 4 months. Left through illness - phtisis. Had been to hospitals. Was staying at Salvation Army Refuge.	...
259	"	Married	29	Waterside Labourer	S	2 w	Was ill 2 years before admission. Left his wife a year before. She was immoral.	Brother, D v.
260	"	Single	33	Ship's Fireman	S	6 w	Was a gunner in Royal Artillery. Discharged in 1885 with ulcerated leg. Been in hospitals but not cured.	...
261	"	"	27	Fish Porter	S	11 d	Chest disease. Not worked for 14 weeks before applying. Has been in Dr. Barnardo's Homes.	...
262	Female	"	47	Servant	S	2½	Left situation—ill. Stayed 5 weeks with a friend and then entered Sick Asylum. Been out once since.	...
263	"	Married	70	Washing	S z d	1	Heart disease. Has had medicines since May 1888. Admitted to Sick Asylum in April 1889.	Husband, No. 1186.
264	"	Widow	72	None	S z p	11	Bronchitis. Had medicines in 1878-80. Partly supported by neighbours until 1884.	(Son-in-law, S. Grandson, S h.
265	Male	Single	50	General Labourer	S z p	1 m	Debility. Lived for 8 years at common lodging-house. Did light work in the house. Past that now.	...
266	Female	Widow	54	Nurse	S z w	3 m	Lived with daughter. Two sons trained in Parish Schools.	Sons (2), O. 1

267	Male	Married	71	Labourer at Fish Market	n S z p	4	Chronic bronchitis. In Sick Asylum twice before. Lived with daughter. Very dirty.	(Daughter, W c l p. Daughter, D c l p. Son-in-law, D l p. Grandchildren (3), D l p. Stepson, S.
268	Female	Widow	66	Washing	S z n	12 +	Was in Sick Asylum in 1877. Only out a few days since. Has fits. Husband died in 1867.	...
269	"	"	70	...	S z	5	Rheumatic gout. Was in Sick Asylum in 1884. Had medicines in 1887. Lived with daughter.	...
270	Male	Married	65	General Labourer	S z	10	Not worked since 1874. Wife kept a small shop and daughters helped.	...
271	"	Widow'r	57	General Labourer	S z	2 m	Wife died in Sick Asylum (1886). Daughter (17) gets medicine for men. He is admitted in following month. Bronchitis.	...
272	Female	Widow	59	Servant	S z	6 m	Admitted after a fit. Sister applied. Came out, but gradually got worse. Partially paralysed.	Sister, S w. Brother-in-law, No. 526.
273	"	Married	50	(Small Shop)	S z	11	Has rheumatism. Has had medicines and been in workhouse.	Husband, S z.
274	Male	Widow'r	66	Dock Labourer	S z	3 m	After wife's death man went to live with daughter. She applied for him. He has a bad leg. Not worked for a year.	Late wife, S u 1
275	Female	"	79	...	S z (?)	18 +	No record. Was transferred from the workhouse to the Sick Asylum when the latter was opened (1871) and has not been out since.	...
276	(Able) Male	Single	22	Street Beggar	(Hereditary) H m d	6 +	Parents and 6 children lived in one room. Always paupers. Children have been in schools. This man was passed from Holborn in 1883 and sent to Darenth Asylum until 1886. In and out since.	Father, D l p. Brothers and sisters, D l h.
277	(Infirm) Male	Child	15	...	H v 2 m 2	12	The mother of these children was passed to Stepney with the eldest one in 1877. In the workhouse she became acquainted with another pauper, who is the father of the other children. All were born in the workhouse. The father and she usually go hopping together.	Mother, No. 281.
278	"	"	11	...	H v 2 m 2	11		(Paranour S v h. Children, No. 277-80.
279	"	"	7	...	H v 2 m 2	7		(Son, V h.
280	"	"	2	...	H v 2 m 2	2		(Son, D c h.
281	Female (Infirm)	Single Poplar Workhouse)	45	...	M h v	12		(Son's wife, D v p. Daughter, S c h. Brother-in-law, No. 283. Wife, S p.
282	Male	Married	62	Dock Labourer	P d v	11 +	Often chargeable. Drinks. Wife has medicines. Home disgusting dirty.	

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
283	(Infirm) Male (In Sick Asylum)	contd.) Married	69	Dock Labourer	(Hereditary) P s z	9	Wife has medicines. Both are kept by daughter for a time.	Wife, S p. Daughter, D h. Son-in-law, No. 1177. Brother, No. 1176.
284	Female	Widow	65	...	Z s p	9	Husband died in Sick Asylum (1881). Bad sight.	Brothers-in-law, Nos. 282, 283. Son, V p m.
285	Male	Widow	70	Coalwhipper	P d z	7	Lived 14 years in common lodging-houses. Belongs to a drunken family.	Niece, No. 1044. (Stepdaughter, No. 286. Brother, S d.
286	Female (In Poplar Workhouse)	Widow	48	Bottle-washer	D h p	10+	Husband died (1869). Woman's out-relief stopped through drink. Violent woman.	Son, No. 287.
287	Male (In Poplar Workhouse)	Single	22	...	R h	8+	In workhouse with mother in 1881. Lives in common lodging-houses or tramps the country.	Son, L h i. Brother, L h i.
288	(Sick) Male	Single	33	(Pauper) General Labourer	Associations.) P s	7	Admitted to workhouse in 1882. Had an abscess on hip. Many applications. Likes to get in Sick Asylum. In prison in 1888.	...
289	(Able-bodied) Female	Single	30	Washing	(Vice) V	6 m	Admitted <i>enroute</i> . Child born May 1888. Father a potman. Girl's father a gardener.	...
290	"	Widow	40	Charing or Service	V d c	6	Belong to a drunken disreputable family. Husband died in 1882. Two children were admitted to Parish Schools in 1883 and woman went to service.	(Mother, S d. Father, S d. Children, Nos. 291-94.
291	" (In Child Schools)	Child	13	...	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>3</sup> c <sup>2</sup>	6	Leaves several places, robs an employer, and is sent to prison. The third child is admitted while she is away. On leaving prison (1887) she is admitted to workhouse, where youngest child was born.	
292	" (In Child Schools)	Child	10	...	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>3</sup> c <sup>2</sup>	6		(Mother, No. 290. Uncle, O <sup>1</sup> . Aunt, M c. Uncle, S d.
293	" (In Child Schools)	Child	7	...	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>3</sup> c <sup>2</sup>	3½		
294	Male (In Sick Asylum)	Child	2	...	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>3</sup> c <sup>2</sup>	2		
295	Female	Married	53	Servant	V d	1½	Husband left her in 1877. Admitted in 1887. Well-known drunken prostitute.	...
296	"	"	45	...	V d q	6 m	Asked for relief in 1884 and 1887 through quarrel with husband—a master carman. Both drink. In August 1888 he stopped her allowance (5s. a week) for adultery. She became chargeable 2 months after.	...

297	"	Single	23	Servant	V h	2	Had medicines in 1887. Seduced by master while at service.	Parents, S <sup>3</sup> .
298	"	"	31	Lead worker	V s w	10	Was in workhouse in 1879. Frequently has medicines for lead-poisoning. Her mother will not admit her to her house.	Illegitimate daughter, V <sup>2</sup> . Illegitimate son, V <sup>3</sup>
299	(Infirm) Male	Child	3	(Shoemaker)	V <sup>1</sup> d <sup>1</sup> l <sup>1</sup>	4 m	Brought to London by father. These children were admitted with him. Deserted wife at Plymouth. Told relieving officer that she had left him. She writes to relieving officer.	Father, V d l.
300	" (In Schools)	"	4	...	V <sup>1</sup> d <sup>1</sup> l <sup>1</sup>	4 m		Brothers, Nos. 299, 300.
301	" (In Schools)	"	6	...	V <sup>1</sup> d <sup>1</sup> l <sup>1</sup>	4 m		...
302	"	Single	49	Labourer at Gasworks	V r	3 m	Tramps country "for work." Did 3 nights at gas-works, but not equal to it. Gonorrhoea.	...
303	Female	Widow	40	Prostitute	V a	1	Second husband left her in 1880. Went on streets in 1885. Admitted in 1888. Ulcerated leg.	...
304	Male	Widow	69	Carpenter	V z u	2	Used to keep a grocer's shop. Latterly a shoeblack. Two sons (illegitimate) will not help. Home and man filthy.	...
305	"	"	78	Mathematical Instr. Maker	V z	12	Passed from Poplar. Was apprenticed in Stepney. Wife died in Sick Asylum 1877. Man sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment in 1875 for indecent assault.	...
306	(Sick) Female	Single	31	Prostitute	V	2 w	Gonorrhoea. Been on streets 6 years when admitted. "Bridge of Hope" will receive her when cured.	...
307	Male	"	33	Ship's Foreman and Dk. Labrer	V	3 m	At Salvation Army Shelter 3 months before applying. Has syphilis.	...
308	"	"	29	Labourer	V h	3	Admitted in 1886 with syphilis. Had medicines, and been in several times since with same complaint.	(Mother, No. 1045. Sister, V. Sister, S h.
309	"	"	23	Coalworker	V e	1½	Admitted on landlady's application. Not worked for 3 weeks. In April 1889 he had gonorrhoea.	...
310	"	Child	5	(Labourer at Wine Cooper's)	C <sup>1</sup> a	5	Father ill-treats wife. Had 6 months for this in 1877, and a girl was admitted to schools. Has been in Lunatic Asylum through drink, and to prison thrice since. Wife goes to her father's, and gets two children into schools each time.	Brother, No. 311. Sister, No. 1180. Grandfather, No. 1179. Elder Sister, C <sup>1</sup> v.
311	"	"	3	...	C <sup>1</sup> a	3		

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
312	(Able-bodied) Male	Single	38	Bandsman	(Laziness) L h	6 m +	Deserted by father, and brought up in Parish School. Been bandsman on some of H.M. ships. Tramped from Sheffield in October 1888.	...
313	"	"	27	Beggar (formerly Army Tailor)	L s r	6	Father (a Lancer) died in 1863. Boy joined his regiment at 15. Discharged in 1878 with cancer in nose. Admitted in 1883 from lodging-house.	...
314	(Infirm) Male	Widow'r	74	Rigger	L d	12+	Man and wife kept a lodging-house. She died in workhouse before 1877. Man slept in a stable.	Wife's mother, X. Son-in-law, L s s
315	"	Married	65	Baker	L d	2	Had a situation, "£36 and all found." Lost it through drink and insubordination. Very lazy. Had 7 days in prison for refusing to work.	(Mother, No. 320. Brother and sisters, Nos. 317-19.
316	Female	Child	7	...	L <sup>1</sup> d <sup>1</sup>	1 m	Mrs. — and her children were admitted to Mile End Workhouse in January 1889. The father was then in prison for not sending his children to school. They were passed to Stepney in April. Medical and other relief was given in 1882 and 1888.	Children, Nos. 316-19.
317	(In Schools) Male	"	11	...	L <sup>1</sup> d <sup>1</sup>	1 m	Met with accident when out of work in 1877. Living in a low house. Refused offer to admit him and children. Wife and children left him in 1882. She died in Sick Asylum in 1888. In and out since.	Late wife, S <sup>1</sup> a.
318	Female	(In Schools) Child	9	...	L <sup>1</sup> d <sup>1</sup>	7	Lazy and drunken. Wife has small shop. Two daughters die in 1884, 1885.	Wife's mother, S z.
319	"	(In Schools) Child	4	...	L <sup>1</sup> d <sup>1</sup>	1 m	After wife's death (1882) man lives in common lodging-houses when not in workhouse. Shams sickness to get in Sick Asylum.	Son, S w h. Son, No. 1128.
320	"	(In Schools) Married	36	Washing (Workhouse) General	L <sup>1</sup> d <sup>1</sup> q	7	Landlady says "he would rather be ill than work." Wife has left him.	...
321	(In Poplar) Male	Widow'r	57	Labourer	L d p	2	Drunken and quarrelsome. Imprisoned 3 times for assaulting parish officials. Admitted 31 times between October 1887 and December 1888.	...
322	"	Married	70	Seaman and Labourer	L d z	10		
323	"	Widow'r	64	Dock Labourer	L p z	8		
324	(Sick) Male	Married	69	Bricklayer's Labourer	L z	3		
325	"	Single	49	Carpenter	L v d	4		

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
326	"	"	23	General Labourer	L p	2	Chargeable since 1887 except while "tramping" for 3 months.	Mother, S e. Stepfather, S e.
327	Female	"	67	Washing	n L	4	This woman and two others used to live in the same street. They went "cadging" all day and enjoyed themselves at night.	...
328	(Infirm) Male	Widow'r	75	Carman	(Imprudence) E d	4	Was in West Ham Workhouse 4 years. Passed to Stepney. Son said he was a great drinker and bad father. Deserted family 18 years before.	...
329	"	Married	69	Bricklayer's Labourer	E d p	9	Ill in August 1881. Wife asked for medicines. Week after she and her daughter go away, and man goes into workhouse. In and out since.	...
330	Female	"	63	...	E d p	8	Woman has medicines in 1882. She goes out nursing or fruit-picking in summer, and winters in workhouse.	Nephew, S e p.
331	Male	"	70	Shipwright	E d z	6	More or less chargeable since 1883. Two sons have been in asylums.	...
332	"	Widow'r	67	Painter	E	6 m	Was a tea dealer. Had two shops, but failed. Cannot work now through rheumatism.	...
333	"	Single	64	Dock Labourer	E u	5	Stays at common lodging-houses when out. Applied for admission the day after taking his wages.	Brother, S.
334	"	Widow'r	77	Sailmaker	E z q	9	Formerly snack-owner. Had money with wife. Sons do not like to support him.	...
335	"	Single	70	Sailor	E z	2	Norwegian. Sailed from London 33 years. Paid off with £40. Admitted 3 months after. Money stolen at a beerhouse.	...
336	(Able-bodied) Male	Single	24	Sailor and Labourer	(Incapacity) I l p	3½	Brought up in Islington Parish Schools. On training ship for 2½ years then went to sea. Gave up in 1885 and became chargeable 6 months after. Confined vagrant now.	...
337	"	Married	59	Scavenger	I m	3	Man saved little money, but had rheumatism and was out of work. Home nicely furnished and clean. Work was given him on the roads, but he could not keep it. Mind is affected. Admitted with four children in 1887.	Children, Nos. 333-40. Father, No. 337.
338	"	Child	8	...	I <sup>1</sup> m <sup>1</sup>	2		
339	Female	"	11	...	I <sup>1</sup> m <sup>1</sup>	2		
340	"	"	6	...	I <sup>1</sup> m <sup>1</sup>	2		
341	Male	Married	59	Watchman	I z n	3	Admitted "unable to work and cannot pay lodgings."	...
342	Male	Single	28	Matmaker (formerly Dust Carter)	I d r	6+	Apprenticed at Hull 1878. Ran away. Lost his sight in 1883. Sent to Blind Asylum, but will not stop. His relations will not have him.	Late mother, W p. Aunt, S.
343	Female	"	48	Sackmaker	I p	2	Has a short leg. In Sick Asylum in 1887. Passed from St. George's E. with illegitimate child.	Son. H <sup>1</sup> a.



No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
(344)	(Able) Male	(contd.) Single	62	Labourer	(Incapacity) I h	10	Deaf and dumb. Master allowed him 10s. a week until 1879, and then recommended the workhouse. Mother died in Sick Asylum.	Late mother, D z. Half-brother, S u h. Half-brother, S h.
345	Female	"	49	Leadworker	I h	12	Blind. Admitted with mother, who is "up to every dodge of begging."	Mother, Z p. Sister, S t p.
(346)	Male	"	17	"	I h	2	Lad has diseased hip. Mother, who had had no work for 6 weeks, applied for his admission in 1887. She was admitted soon after. Lad sent to schools at seaside for a year.	Mother, No. 347. Son, No. 346.
(347)	Female	Widow	57	Factory hand	I d w	2	Says wife cannot earn enough to keep them both. Has been in Leytonstone Workhouse.	...
348	Male	Married	51	Dock Labourer	I r p	3 m	Blind. Had not worked for 2 years when admitted. Wife has medicines.	...
349	"	"	71	Journeyman Baker	I l	4	Crippled. In workhouse in 1866. Passed from Mile-End in 1888.	Sister, W s.
350	Female	Single	49	"	I	23	Has gout; disabled. Came out for 3 months in 1886.	...
351	Male	"	64	Painter	I	13	Very deaf. Lived with her sister-in-law. Had medicine, and was admitted the following week. Family gone hopping.	...
352	Female	Widow	47	Servant	I	6 m	Partially blind; good character.	Brother-in-law, n z.
353	Male	Widow'r	56	Hawker	I	6	Is disabled. Never knew his parents. Was kept by a sister and uncle until he was 10 years old.	...
354	"	Single	26	"	I	16	Her father, a broker, died in 1860. Passed from City of London Union. Been out a few days since. Slept in casual wards.	...
355	Female	"	59	Needlewoman	I	9	Husband got medicines for her; been ill ten years. Next year man is ill, and both go in. Sober and hardworking.	...
(356)	"	Married	65	"	I u <sup>1</sup> z	3	Had been bad nine months when father applied for her.	Husband, U s z. Sister, No. 1023.
(357)	"	Single	29	"	M u <sup>1</sup>	5	Husband applied for truss in 1877, and R. O. visiting him, recognised this woman. He was drowned in 1885; woman entered two months after.	Mother, No. 356. Uncle, No. 1027.
358	Female	(In Lunatic Asylum) Widow	70	Tailoress	I w p	12+		..

359	Male	Single	59	General Labourer	I n u	2½	Coloured man. Could get nothing to do. In a wretched condition.	...
360	"	Married	67	Seaman	I s z	5	Man ill since 1883. C.O.S. allowed 7s. 6d. a week; reduced to 4s. when man goes in. Clean.	Sister, Z ?
(361)	"	"	86	Labourer	I z d	12	Blind. Head of drunken family.	(Wife, D. Son, No. 362. Sister-in-law, A h. Sister-in-law, No. 363.
362	"	Single	36	Stevordore's Labourer	C h d	3	Bad character. In prison or workhouse most of his time.	(Sister, A h. Father, No. 361. Sister's husband's mother, No. 536.
(363)	Female	Widow	50	Leadworker	D p	10	Notorious drunkard. Husband died 1879. She lived with a man who died in Sick Asylum 1885.	(Cousin, S u v. Cousin, No. 1070. Paramour, D v.
364	"	"	64	Servant	I z w	8	Paralysed. Been in West Ham Workhouse. Husband died in Sick Asylum. Son, bad character, will not keep her.	Sister-in-law, S w.
365	Male	Widow'r	85	Silk-dyer	Q z	4	Kept four years by children. Bad temper. Sons pay for his keep.	Son, S f.
366	(Sick) Female	Child	5	(Seaman)	I <sup>1</sup> s	3 m	Father has bad sight; was in Greenwich Hospital. Mother gets this girl and boy into workhouse.	Brother, I <sup>1</sup> s.
367	(Able-bodied) Male	(Married)	50	Watchman	(Trade Conditions) U s d <sup>2</sup>	1½	Decent man. Had Bright's Disease when admitted. Traces his troubles to wife's drunkenness.	Wife, S d. Adopted d'ghter, S o.
368	"	Single	58	Journeyman Baker	U i	4	Been in St. Pancras Workhouse "on and off" for years before coming to Stepney. Earned 16s. a week. Poisoned hand in 1887. Good character.	...
369	"	Widow'r	50	Dock Labourer and Seaman	U	1	Coloured man. Sailed from England since 1854. Could not get a ship.	...
(370)	Male	Married	61	Coalbacker	U e	2	Man out of work and ill in 1886. Both are admitted in 1887. Room and people extremely filthy. Burned table before entering. Woman paralysed.	...
(371)	Female	"	57	"	S u <sup>1</sup>	4		...

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
372	(Infirm) Male	contd. Widow'r	65	Carman	Conditions u U z	5	Work irregular. Has fits and is paralysed. Helped landlady clean for his food.	...
373	"	"	66	Decorator	U x	4	Wife had medicines in 1885; died same year. Man broke his ankle in 1886. "Decent sober fellow."	...
374	"	Married	66	Hawker and Shoebblack	U s	3	Man and wife had medicines. In January 1889 C. O. S. were allowing 2s. 6d. a week. Stopped in April, and man goes in.	Nephew, No. 1173.
375	"	Widow'r	59	Plumber	U s	6	First had medicines for paralysed wife. She died in 1885. Work irregular. Both been in Sick Asylum.	...
376	"	"	63	Dock Labourer	U s	12	Out of work and ill. Man went into Sick Asylum in 1877. Wife died 1886. Man injured knee, and entered workhouse 1888.	...
377	"	Single	74	Labourer	U z	12	In 1878 man said he was "old and feeble: could not get work." Drinks occasionally.	Nephew's children, O <sup>d</sup>
378	Male	Widow'r	63	Painter	U z	2	Out of work 14 weeks. Helped by mates and sold things. Irregular work for years. Been in two clubs. Good character.	...
379	"	"	67	Dock Labourer	U z	2 m	Parish buried wife in 1878. In 1889, out of work and destitute, man entered the workhouse.	Mother, Z. u.
380	"	"	65	"	U z	8	Wife died in 1881. In 1883 man was admitted. Often out during 1883-6, hopping, hawking, etc.	Brother, S u.
381	"	"	75	General Labourer	U z	11	Could not get work and was turned out of his lodging.	...
382	"	"	68	Bricklayer's Labourer	U z	3	Out of work at first application. Children kept his wife until her death (1889). Clean and sober.	...
383	"	Married	61	Dock Labourer	U z (d)	3	Lived at one place 27 years. Only a week's work in 3 months. Hard working.	Son, S u.
384	Female	Widow	77	Needle-woman	T d z	12	Husband, a cowman, thrown out of work by death of cows (cattle disease) in 1877. Man and wife have had various relief since. Man died 1885. Children helped widow.	...

385	Male	Married	70	Farrier	T d z	3	In business 30 years. Failed in 1881. Casual work since. Both go into workhouse in 1886. Woman has dislocated hip. Son will not help.	Son, S e d.
386	Female	"	75	...	T d z	6	In business 20 years as rag merchant. Sold house for £340. Since 1874 worked as rag-sorter.	...
387	Male	Widow'r	63	Rag-sorter	T e r	6 m	Passed from St. Pancras. Failed in business. Wife left him.	...
388	"	Married	69	Clogmaker	T (?)	6	Failed in 1887. Wife left him. Destitute when applying 9 months later.	...
389	"	"	51	Publican	T	1	In business at Lambeth until 1868; then 5 years at Whitechapel. Lived with son 8 years, and been in City Infirm 1 year.	...
390	"	Widow'r	59	Bone Merchant	T s	9 m	Employers failed in 1887; two months later he was admitted to Sick Asylum.	...
391	"	Married	68	Charcoal Labourer	T s z	8	Lived 46 years in one house. Married second wife in 1873. Ship's dealer 20 years; had to spend stock money. Steady and hard working, but wife drinks. Her sons made her an allowance through Charity Organisation Society.	...
392	"	"	83	Ship's-dealer (formerly Coal-whipper)	T z d <sup>3</sup>	4	Butcher until 1865; then at sugar refiner's until firm failed (13 years). Applied 2 years after. Lost an eye.	...
393	Female	"	72	Needle-woman	D	3 m	Husband deserted her "to seek work." Has systematically neglected his family. Warrant obtained, but woman being passed to Hackney, was dropped.	Daughter, No. 396.
394	Male	Widow'r	63	Journeyman Butcher	T z i	13 d	Husband died in Sick Asylum 1885. Woman admitted 2 months after. "Could not get work because of her age."	...
395	(Able-bodied) Female	Deserted Child	23	...	(Desertion, Widowhood, etc.) A	9 m	Lived with husband, quarrelling and drinking, until 3 months before his death in Sick Asylum. Woman admitted about that time, and chargeable ever since.	...
396	"	"	1	...	A <sup>1</sup>	9 m	Lived with married daughter until latter was taken ill and entered hospital. Son-in-law out of work.	...
397	"	Widow	53	...	W d l	4		...
398	"	"	48	Washing	W d e	11		...
399	"	"	59	Charing	W z s <sup>3</sup>	6 m		Son, S.

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
(400)	(Infirm) Female	Deserted	45	(Desertion, W Tailoress	idouch'd, etc. A d <sup>1</sup>	6	Husband, a shipping clerk, lost his place after 18 years' service through drink. Worked with his brother as lighterman, but failed. Went to Africa in 1882, leaving his family. All became chargeable 8 months after. Not heard of since 1883.	Children, Nos. 401-3. Mother, No. 400.
401	Male	Child (In Schools)	14	...	A d <sup>1</sup>	6		
402	Male	Child (In Schools)	13	...	A d <sup>1</sup>	6		
(403)	Female	Child (In Schools)	9	...	A d <sup>1</sup>	6		
404	"	Widow	72	Ironing	W d	5	Asked for out-relief 1½ years after husband's death. Sent to workhouse. Out several times since. Drinks.	Brothers, Nos. 401-2. ...
(405)	"	"	75	Charing	W p	13	Husband killed in docks (1876). Went in soon after. When out stays with brother or daughter.	{ Daughter, L i d <sup>1</sup> Son-in-law, L h d. G'd children, L i h d <sup>1</sup>
(406)	"	"	66	Watercross Hawker	P z	20 +	Pauper family known to relieving officer for 20 years. Was having 4s. 6d. a week and bread in 1870. Records of medical relief in 1879.	Son, L h d. Son, No. 1052.
407	"	"	75	Mangle	W d e	8	Husband, a lighterman, was drowned. Widow had club money, £20. Bought mangle. Seeks out-relief. Drinks and sells home.	Daughter, S h. Daughter, S c.
408	"	"	73	...	W d <sup>3</sup> e	9	Husband died 1885. Used to drink and beat her. She used to beg. In Sick Asylum twice before his death. She has not been out since.	...
409	"	"	53	...	W i	...	Blind. Her 4 sons (eldest 33) were brought up in the parish schools. In 1883 they left her destitute.	...
410	"	"	66	...	W i	1 d	Cripple. Husband died in Sick Asylum. Admitted destitute 14 days later.	Late husband, S z. Sister-in-law, No. 436.
411	"	"	77	...	W d s	6 m	Had out-relief in husband's last illness. Enters workhouse after his death. His friends made them an allowance.	...
412	"	"	64	Washing and Charing.	W	5	Husband buried by parish. Soon after was passed from St. George's-in-the-East. Out a few days since.	Late husband, S u.
413	"	"	73	Needle-woman	W n	3	Went to niece's, after husband's death, to mind children. Only stayed 14 months.	Niece, S i.

(414)	"	"	56	Sackmaker	n W s	4	Lived with son. He was ill in 1885. In following year she was admitted. Out for a few days since.	Son-in-law, S h e.
(415)	Male (In Sick Asylum)	Single	24	Tinsmith	S h	...	Admitted to Sick Asylum with phthisis (1886). Not out since.	Mother, No. 414.
416	Female	Widow	75	...	n W z	12 +	Husband died (1875), and widow asked for out-relief. Admitted 1887, and chargeable since.	...
417	"	"	84	Charing	W s	7	Applied after husband's death (1877); referred to C. O. S. Admitted to Sick Asylum (1882).	{ Son, M. Daughter, D s. Daughter, S u d.
418	"	"	71	Cook	W s	4	Husband came home from sea, ill, in 1881, and died in Sick Asylum. C. O. S. helped widow, who kept herself until 1886.	...
419	"	"	68	Tailoress	W s	1	Was in Sick Asylum 6 months with poisoned hand. Husband died in Mile End Infirmary.	...
420	"	"	68	Chair-canner	W s	12	Unable to work. Been in workhouse since husband's death, excepting 5 weeks in 1881.	...
421	"	"	67	...	W s	11	Went into Skibbereen Workhouse when husband died. Son brought her to London. Has bronchitis; gradually gets worse. Son's work slackens, and she is admitted.	...
422	"	"	76	Needle-woman	W s z	13	Husband died in Sick Asylum. Son cannot keep her; she cannot get work.	...
423	"	Deserted	77	...	A z d i	15	Blind. Husband a ship's cook; left his ship. Woman came to Relief Office drunk.	...
424	"	Widow	60	Washing	W z p	3 +	Husband died (1849). Woman had out-relief, but it was stopped. Goes hopping with daughter.	Daughter, S u p. Son-in-law, S u p.
425	Male	Single	59	Labourer	S e p	8	Has bronchitis. Lived with brother.	{ Brother, D s Nephew, No. 1046.
426	Female (In Sick Asylum)	Widow	72	Hammock Maker	S z p	12	Husband died 1860. Lived with daughter. Frequent medical attendance. Son died in Sick Asylum.	Daughter, No. 1102.
427	Female	Widow	67	Garden work	W z q	13	Husband, a tidewater, was buried by Union. Dirty and quarrelsome.	...
428	"	"	86	Needle-woman	W z	24	Husband, a carman, died in 1865. Widow had 4s. weekly, out-relief, increased to 6s. before she became an inmate. Bad sight.	...

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
429 430	( <i>Infirm</i> ) Female Male	contd.) Child "	8 4	( <i>Desertion</i> , ... ...)	<i>Widowhood</i> , n O <sup>1</sup> n O <sup>1</sup>	contd.) 2 m 2 m	Children were admitted during mother's illness. Three brothers are chargeable to Poplar Union.	{ Mother, No. 1007. { Uncle, S.
431	( <i>Sick</i> ) Male	Child	5	...	A <sup>1</sup> m <sup>2</sup>	9 m	Has ophthalmia. Admitted with mother.	{ Mother, A m q. { Sister, O <sup>1</sup>
432	Female	Deserted	53	(Seaman)	A s d <sup>1</sup>	14	Husband put ashore at Melbourne for drunkenness (1879) and not since heard of. Woman had been confined to bed 4 months then, and was sent to Sick Asylum. Phthisis.	...
433	"	Widow	84	...	n W z	4	Daughter supported her, but could not continue to do so.	...
434	"	"	71	Tailorress	W z	7	Husband died in Sick Asylum (1882). Widow was admitted to workhouse. Stays with niece occasionally.	Late Husband, Z. Niece and family, See No. 1014.
435	( <i>Able-bodied</i> ) Male	Single	57	Laundryman	( <i>Mental Disorder</i> ) M z	3 m	Brought by brother. "Soft" in head, and cannot get work. Brother cannot keep him.	...
436	Female	"	55	Servant	M	14	Left situation; "wrong in head." Brought by sister; been out about 12 times for a day since.	Late Brother, S z. Sister-in-law, No. 410.
437	( <i>Infirm</i> ) Female	Single	45	"	M v	12	Weak intellect. Seduced by a sailor—in workhouse since.	{ Late father, Z e d. { Mother, D e w. { Brother, D e h. { " " " "
438	"	"	34	...	M h	11+	Re-admitted to workhouse in 1878. Had been staying with parents.	{ Mother, No. 439. { Sister, S z w. { Sister, No. 1090.
439	"	Widow	72	Bottlewasher	X z	2 m	Husband had relief from 1880 until his death. Widow had an accident, and was admitted to Sick Asylum.	{ Brother, No. 1083. { Daughter, No. 438. { Other Relatives, Nos. 1088-92.
440	Male	Child	8	...	M u <sup>1</sup>	6 m	Epileptic. 7 other children, and this boy cannot be left with them. Father earns 24s., and pays 1s. a week.	...
441	Female	Widow	63	Hawker	M w d	8	Was in an asylum nearly 2 years—drunk. Husband died (1883), and widow sold her things to bury him.	...

442	Male	Child	4	...	M o	2	Father died (1886). Mother, decent. Works as a dressmaker. Other children in orphanage.	...
443	Female	Single	41	Servant	M n	19	In infirmary asylum 17 years; then returned to the workhouse.	...
444	"	"	46	...	M	9	Passed from West Ham, where she had been 2 years. Lived with sister previously. Weak mind.	...
445	Male	Married	36	Ship's Fireman	M	9 m	Had not worked for 8 months. Admitted with 2 children. Home clean; character good.	Son, M. <sup>1</sup>
446	Female	"	63	...	M z	1	Had several epileptic fits, and became violent. Husband got her in, and pays 4s. a week. Sober, decent people.	Daughter, M. <sup>1</sup>
447	( <i>Sick</i> ) Male	Widow'r	59	Sailmaker	M z n	2 m	Left Australia 14 years before admission on account of death of wife and children. In business there for 8 years.	...
448	( <i>Able-bodied</i> ) Male	Married	39	Sweep	( <i>Idiocy</i> ) R c l d	1+	Wife granted separation order, and man sent to prison in 1880. Has been in several casual wards.	Wife's Sister, S d.
449	"	Single	21	General Labourer	R h d	1½	Tramped to London, when parents died (1884). Been in industrial school. Lives in common lodging house. In prison twice—drunk.	Wife, S.
450	( <i>Infirm</i> ) Male	Widow'r	68	Labourer at iron yard	R	5+	Re-admitted 1884. Lives in common lodging houses when out. Been a policeman and licensed victualler.	...
451	"	Married	62	Blacksmith	R i z	5	Wife became chargeable through his desertion in 1878. Admitted and recognised in 1884, becomes blind in 1886.	Wife A d.
452	"	Single	39	...	R s	18 d	Was in the infirmary at Colchester. Walked up to London. Has a bad leg.	...
453	Female	Widow	70	Hawker	R z p	13+	Passed to Stepney with husband in 1876. He died in Sick Asylum in 1885. Both used to tramp the country.	...
454	( <i>Sick</i> ) Male	Single	53	Dock Labourer (formerly Soldier)	R l n	3 m	Sent to Sick Asylum late at night. When out sleeps in common lodging houses or the streets.	...
455	"	Widow'r	36	Hawker of china	R s	2 m	Sent to work at mills in Lancashire when 16 years old. Came back when 7 years' term had expired. Tramp.	...
456	( <i>Infirm</i> ) Male	Widow'r	64	Sailmaker & Watchman	( <i>Accident</i> ), X d	6	Lost right hand in 1880 through falling out of train while drunk.	...

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
457	(Infirm) Male	Married	60	Hawker (formerly Seaman)	(Accident) X d	10	Lost left hand by accident at docks. Wife a tailor-ess, partially supported. Both had medicines.	...
458	"	"	55	Bricklayer's Labourer	X d <sup>3</sup>	2½	Broke knee-cap in London Docks. Admitted six months after. Rough drinking couple.	Cousin, S w.
459	"	Widow'r	39	Holder-up	X e	1 m	Broke his ribs. Man was admitted and friends took the children.	Nephew, S.
460	"	Single	38	Labourer or Clerk	X i	11	Blind through an accident at Nottingham. Passed from Poplar Union.	...
461	"	Widow'r	47	Builder's Hodman	X t u	9	In 1880 one girl was admitted to Small-pox Hospital. Family then very poor. The mother died in 1888, and a few days later the man injured his spine. He is paralysed now. Two children were admitted soon after, and in January 1889 the other two were passed from Mile End. Eldest girl has ophthalmia.	Children, Nos. 462-465.
462	(In Sick Asylum) Female	"	14	"	X' u <sup>1</sup>	3 m +		Father, No. 461.
463	(In Sick Asylum) Female	"	11	"	X' u <sup>1</sup>	9		
464	"	"	9	"	X' u <sup>1</sup>	9 m +		
465	(In Schools) Male	"	7	"	X' u <sup>1</sup>	3 m +		Sisters, Nos. 462-4.
466	"	Married	64	General Labourer	X u z	10	Man injured his hip. Ten weeks later, wife got him in Sick Asylum. Came out for six weeks in following year. After his re-admission wife had to enter. Lived 16 years in one place.	...
467	Female	"	65	Needle-woman	X' u z	9	Poisoned her thumb a year before she was admitted. Lived by pawning her things, and help from neighbours.	...
468	"	Widow	65	Laundry worker	X w y	7	Met with accident at Docks in 1879. Drinks.	...
469	Male	Single	67	Dock Labourer	X d	12	Disabled at Docks. Entered workhouse six months after. Only out for a day occasionally since. Wife died in workhouse.	...
470	"	Widow'r	72	General Labourer	X	13	Lost an arm in Canada (1887). Came to England with £11. Admitted four months later.	...
471	"	Single	24	Deal Porter	X	1 w	Permanently disabled at Docks (1873). Company gave him £100. Out for short periods since 1874.	...
472	"	"	45	Worked hydraulic engine	X	15		Mother, W.

473	"	Widow'r	51	Dock Labourer	X	1½	Fell in Dock during a fog. Giddiness since.	...
474	Female	Widow	44	Woodchopper	X	4	Broke her leg. Four months in hospital and then admitted. Out occasionally since, and has medicine.	...
475	Male	Widow'r	67	Dock Labourer	X s	10	Wife died in Sick Asylum. Man had two accidents at Docks; disabled in 1882. Respectable and well conducted.	...
476	"	Single	77	Saw sharpener	X z p	8	Broke his ribs; has not worked since. Bad eyes. Lives in common lodging houses.	Nephew, S e.
477	"	Widow'r	75	Ballast worker	X z e	10	Fell from a barge in 1879. Has been chargeable ever since.	Son, L d h.
478	"	Single	72	Dock Labourer	X z n	9	Passed from Edmonton. Injured his hand a year before, and attempted suicide.	...
479	"	Widow'r	72	Potman	X z	2	Chargeable twice through illness and accident previous to 1889, when he dislocated his shoulder.	...
480	"	"	72	Dock Labourer	X z	8	Injured hand at Docks. Company made an allowance for a time.	...
481	"	"	75	Labourer	X z	6½	Injured at wharf in 1882. Wife died in Sick Asylum a few weeks after; man was admitted in 1883. Had £20 compensation.	Son, L s.
482	"	Married	66	Coal Porter	X z	10	Six accidents from 1876 to 1879. Sold many things and had medicines. Admitted 1882. Good character. Supported his own and wife's mother.	Daughter, No. 1124.
483	Female	Widow	89	Charing	X z	7	Broke her leg. Admitted when she came out of hospital.	...
484	(Sick) Male	Widow'r	40	Dock Labourer	X p u	1	Lived in common lodging house. Had medicines in 1888. Broke knee-cap in 1889	...
485	"	Married	51	Labourer at Leadworks	X	1½	Had spinal disease six months through accident, club benefit was exhausted when he was admitted. With employers 19 years; they allow 8s. per week. Lived 14 years in the same room.	...
486	Male	Single	40	General Labourer	X	2 d	Lived 6 months at common lodging houses; out of work 5 months of the time. Got work, then fell from roof of house and broke collar bone.	...
487	Female	Widow	76	Needle-woman	X z	1 d	Lived with daughter. Injured shoulder by a fall. Children allow 2s. 6d. a week.	...

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
488	( <i>infirm</i> ) Female	Widow	77	...	( <i>Old Age</i> ) Z v	7	Husband left her 30 years ago. She then lived with a dock labourer until he died in Sick Asylum (1882). Admitted then.	...
489	Male	Married	73	Sawyer	Z d	8	Entered workhouse in 1881; grandson keeping his wife. Both were inmates in 1886.	...
490	Female	Widow	67	Washing	Z d	4	Husband a painter, and one son died in workhouse. Woman has relief and lives with son. Is obliged to enter as another son will not help support her.	Son, S. L.
491	"	"	76	Sells sheep's trotters	Z d	6	Had medicines in 1883. Entered house in 1884; chargeable ever since. Been married 5 times.	...
492	"	"	83	Needle-woman	Z d	4 +	Husband died (1895). Woman paralysed 1874. Lived with daughter until admitted. Both drank.	...
493	"	"	80	Washing and Needlework	Z d	9	Had medicines in 1880; continuous medical treatment since 1884. Lived with son until he went away. "An old toper."	Son, S. Son's Wife's mother, Z.
494	"	"	75	Fruit stall	Z d	9	Lost husband in 1858. Went into Sick Asylum in 1883. Chargeable since. Was often drunk at her stall.	...
495	"	"	73	Needle-woman	Z d	12	Husband, a tidewaiter, died in Sick Asylum (1887). C. O. S. helped in 1879, but stopped as character was doubtful.	...
496	Male	Married	67	Ship's Cook	Z d <sup>2</sup>	2	Woman admitted in 1884. Husband gone to sea; deserted her. Man, who had been staying at his daughter's, was admitted in 1887.	...
497	Female	"	71	Hawker	Z d	5	Sent to Sick Asylum with rheumatic gout in 1880. Been chargeable most of his time since.	Sister-in-law, S.
498	Male	"	74	Labourer and Coal-whipper	Z d <sup>3</sup>	9		
499	Male	Married	76	Dock Labourer	Z d e	2	Man worked casually at docks since 1858. Both were admitted in 1857. They had £100 left them in 1884. Man had £3 a year as bellinger.	...
500	Female	"	58	Laundress	Z d <sup>1</sup> e	2	Man earned 10s. a week when wife was first ill. He was taken ill a year after; gradually got worse, and both go in. Both drink. In and out since.	Granddaughter, A. d.
501	Male	"	77	Hawker	Z d e	5		
502	Female	"	77	"	Z d e	6		

503	"	Widow	88	Tailoress	Z d w	19 +	Husband died (1855). Had relief in 1870-71. Spent her evenings in public-house "to save fire and light." Admitted 1887. Had 2s. 6d. a week allowance.	...
504	Male	Married	68	Cab-driver	Z d s	14	Cab proprietor for 20 years. Lost licence through drink. Paralysed 2 years before admission. Sons will not help.	...
505	Female	Widow	79	Needle-woman	Z p.	14 +	In workhouse before 1875. Lives with niece when she comes out.	Niece, S u <sup>1</sup> p.
506	Male	Married	65	General Labourer	Z p	11	Man has rheumatism. Sons used to help him. Often in Sick Asylum. Wife had medicines until 1888, when she was admitted.	...
507	Female (In Sick Asylum)	Widow	65	...	Z p	9		...
508	"	Widow	80	Dust sifter	Z p	11	Husband died (1891) in Sick Asylum; had been chargeable 12 years. Woman comes out to stay with niece. Home "poor and dirty."	Son, S. p. Son's wife's brother, S. p. Son's wife's sister, S. p.
509	Male	Widow	75	General Labourer	Z p	8	Stays with nephew when out or goes into the country. Frequently out before 1887.	Nephew, Ds g s. Nephew's children, S d <sup>3</sup>
510	"	Single	79	General Labourer	Z p	11 +	Re-admitted October 1878. Goes hopping every year.	Niece and family, S e. Niece, No. 734.
511	"	Widow	68	General Labourer	Z p	11	Lived 32 years in one court. Wife died 1878. Man went in Sick Asylum (1880). Out several times before 1884.	Nephew, D e. Sister-in-law, n Z.
512	Female	Widow	72	...	Z p	10	Daughter applied on her behalf. Was kept by Daniel, a lazy drunken son.	(D'ter, No. 1165. Sons, S d, S u f. D'ter, S h. Son-in-law, S h.
513	"	"	67	Washing and Charing	Z h	11 +	First recorded application in 1878. Sons kept her. Out several times since 1888.	(Son, S h. Grandson, S h. Mother (late), W.
514	Male	Widow	71	General Labourer	Z l	10	Wife died in Sick Asylum 1874.	...
515	"	Single	75	Sailor, A. B.	Z e	3	At sea 51 years; never saved. Admitted from boarding-house suffering with diabetes.	...
516	"	"	68	Coal-whipper	Z e	2	Had medicines. Admitted 16 days later. Not worked for a fortnight.	...
517	"	"	64	Sailor	Z e	9	Not been to sea for 3 years. Night watchman at common lodging-house for 10 months before applying.	...

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
518	(Infirm) Male	Widow'r	70	Blacksmith	(Old Age) Z e u	10	Early applications for wife, who died (1885) in Sick Asylum. Work irregular; lived well at times, starved at others.	...
519	"	Married	68	Carman	Z e s	5	In same place 12 years, 21s. a week; would not pay 6d. a week to yard club. Came to parish for medicine.	...
520	Female	Widow	80	Boot-closer	Z q	9	Had relief at husband's death (1868). Sons do not like to keep her.	...
521	Male	Widow'r	65	Baker (journeyman)	Z q	6 m	35 years in England. Not able to work at trade for 6 years; been in tea warehouse. Lived with son.	Brother-in-law, X.
522	Male	Widow'r	87	Shopkeeper (formerly Seaman)	Z q	13	In timber department of docks for 40 years. Hard-working, but quarrels and drinks. Admitted with wife, who died in 1886.	...
523	"	Married	69	Cigar-maker and Dock Labourer	Z i	6	Admitted in 1883; not seen wife for 8 years. Out for 7 months in 1885; lived by begging.	...
524	"	Widow'r	61	Labourer	Z i	1 m	Lost his speech and cannot get work. Lived 6 years in Peabody Buildings.	...
525	"	"	72	Coal-whipper	Z i	11½	Re-admitted in 1882. Sons promised an allowance, but did not pay it, so he preferred the workhouse.	...
526	"	"	70	"	Z i	10	Lived with daughter, but she cannot keep him. Has not been out since 1884. Injured eye.	(Daughter, S. Sister-in-law, S. w. Sister-in-law, No. 272. Nephew, No. 1115. Nephew, S. e.
527	Female	Single	73	Nurse	Z i	8	Been chargeable to Poplar 5 years. Could not keep her situations.	...
528	Male	Widow'r	80	Carpenter	Z i	6	Disabled. Had not worked for 11 months, when daughter got him admitted (1883). She had kept him.	...
529	"	"	66	Labourer (formerly Seaman)	Z i	3	Wife died in asylum (1880). Man gave up the sea through failing sight. Comfortable home then; in 1886 he is homeless—walked streets for two nights.	...
530	"	Single	63	General Labourer	Z i	4	Stays at common lodging-houses when out. Runs errands.	Brother, S u.

531	"	"	65	Dock Labourer	Z i u	10	Had medicines in 1879. Had not done much work for 1½ years before. Admitted from common lodging-house.	Late mother, Z a.
532	"	Married	70	Engine-fitter	Z i u	4	Lost one eye. Had medicines. Worked about 3 days a week.	Wife, No. 1030.
533	"	"	70	Stevordore	Z u p	3	Admitted with wife. Had no work. Not been out since.	...
534	Female	"	66	Washing	D z p	3	Frequently comes out. Stays at common lodging-house. Drinks and begs.	...
535	Male	"	74	Dock Labourer	Z u e	14	Was burnt at Gravesend in 1875, and went into Sick Asylum. Homeless until 1883, when he and his wife had a room. Irregular work and illness cause them to enter workhouse in 1886.	Son's paramour, V h. Daughter-in-law, A h.
536	Female	"	63	Tailoress	Z u l	6	Worked on shore 14 years. Cannot get work. "Money went as it came."	...
537	Male	"	74	Rigger	Z t e	9	Husband died 1847. Son carried on business, but failed. Woman went to live with granddaughter.	Granddaughter, X a.
538	Female	Widow	72	"	Z t e	9	Admitted with wife. Not worked for 3 weeks. Good character. Room was tidy. Was in a club.	...
539	"	"	91	"	Z t	4	German. Work irregular.	...
540	Male	Widow'r	74	Dock Labourer	Z u	9	Worked 20 years for one master. Out of work for 3 months—too old. Good character.	...
541	"	"	66	Dock Labourer	Z u	3	Maintained herself for 10 years. Had to spend stock money at last. Has been out for two or three days.	Husband's brother, S, 2
542	"	"	63	Whitening Moulder	Z u	3	For 30 years previous to 1877 made ginger beer in the summer and worked at docks in winter. Good character. Charity Organisation Society allowed 2s. 6d. a week.	...
543	Female	Widow	69	Hawks Shell-fish	Z u	6	Wife admitted in a starving condition—man out of work. He neglects her and drinks. He entered workhouse in 1880 to evade a summons for neglecting her. Woman often ill.	...
544	Male	Widow'r	78	Labourer at Tea Warehouse	Z u	12		...
545	"	Married	63	General Labourer and Shop-keeper	Z w	3		...
546	Female	"	66	"	Z s	10		...

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
547	(Infirm) Male	(contd.) Married	70	Dock Labourer	(Old Age) Z w	(contd.) 9	At docks, permanent hand, for 34 years. Left through age. Company gave him £20 through Charity Organisation Society. Had medicine 2 years after. Passed from Mile End. Cannot get a ship. Wife died (1881) in Whitechapel Workhouse.	Sister-in-law, No. 1014. Two nephews, S. Niece, S.
548	"	Widow	63	Mariner (Second Officer)	Z u	9 m	Son, a musician, left her. Work becomes irregular. Wife died in Sick Asylum and was buried by parish.	...
549	Female	Widow	69	Charing	Z u	10	Kept himself by odd jobs for 4 years. Lived at common lodging-house.	...
550	Male	Widow	70	Hammerman	Z u	12	Applied in 1881—out of work 7 weeks. Admitted in 1883. Out once since.	...
551	"	"	66	Seaman, A.B.	Z u	4 d	Left sea in 1868—too old. Casual work since. In Clapham Workhouse from 1873 to 1877. Very good character.	...
552	"	"	75	Jobbing Carpenter	Z u	6	Work very slack; then man is ill. Enters with his wife. Sober, industrious people.	...
553	"	"	78	Master Mariner	Z u	11	Came out of the workhouse for 5 months in 1877. Out for a week since.	...
554	"	"	73	Twinespinner	Z u	3	Has rheumatism. Had medicines since 1884. Wife, a trousers finisher, earns 7s. a week. Good character. Formerly a cooper.	Late wife, Z u. <sup>1</sup>
555	"	"	85	Bricklayer	Z u	12+	Husband died 1866. Woman had medicines in 1878. Entered workhouse in 1882. Out occasionally to visit daughter.	Niece, No. 1178.
556	"	Married	62	General Labourer	Z u m	5	Husband died 1870. Woman kept herself 11 years. Has rheumatism.	...
557	Female	Widow	71	Washing	Z w	11	Only out for 6 months since 1877. Went to her daughter's—another inmate had displeased her. Could not get work.	...
558	"	"	71	"	Z w	6	Husband died in workhouse. Son helped her until he was sent to lunatic asylum. Lived 40 years in one house.	Son, C m. Half-sister, No. 1164.
559	"	"	74	Charing	Z w s	8	Husband died 1870. Woman kept herself 11 years. Has rheumatism.	...
560	"	"	78	"	Z w	12		...

561	"	"	65	Washing	Z w	6	Husband died in Sick Asylum in 1878. Woman went to service. Admitted in 1883. Out a few days since.	...
562	"	"	69	Laundry hand	Z w	9 m	Had 2s. 6d. a-week out-relief from Mile End Old Town. Very dirty. Son a drunkard.	...
563	"	"	74	Charing	Z w	2	Husband died (1878) in Sick Asylum. Woman lost sight of until admitted in 1887.	{ Sister, S z p. 564. Brother, No. 564. Stepson, S e. Nephew, M. Sister, No. 563.
564	Male	Widow	75	Dock Labourer	U z	7	Man out of work. Had medicines for wife. She died in Sick Asylum (1884). He entered soon after as sons cannot help.	...
565	Female	Widow	65	Needle-woman	Z w	2	Husband, ship's steward, died at sea. Struggled for 4 years. Cannot work now.	...
566	" (In Sick Asylum)	"	72	Washing	Z w s	9	Husband died (1880) in Sick Asylum. Woman had medicine soon after. Has chronic bronchitis. In Sick Asylum in 1885.	{ Daughter, S. Son and family, Nos. 1105-7. Daughter, No. 1108. Grandsons (2), Nos. 892-3. Grandson, No. 1026.
567	"	Widow	76	Lintworker	n Z d	9	Had part of a room in 1880. Goes into Sick Asylum in 1881. When she leaves she stays with daughter.	Grandsons (2), O. <sup>2</sup> Daughter, W z. <sup>1</sup>
568	Male	Widow	83	Sawyer	n Z d e	9	Blind. Son kept him 5 years (1876-80)—losing his sight. Been brought home drunk twice a day.	...
569	"	Married	76	Hawker	n Z p	7	Man "in and out" during earlier years. His "feet" are bad and he cannot travel. Wife lived with daughter until later went into the hospital, and then became chargeable. Son dead.	...
570	Female	"	66	"	n Z p	4		...
571	"	Widow	79	Nurse	n Z p	12+	First entry respecting this family is the grand-mother's application for re-admission in June 1877. Her daughter was then in the workhouse, and had two illegitimate children in the district schools. One went to service in 1883. Widow comes out to nurse friends.	Granddaughter, No. 573. Mother, No. 571. Mother, No. 572.
572	"	Single	42	Servant	V m h	12+		...
573	" (In Schools).	"	16	"	V z h	12+	Man's health bad, and work irregular in 1887, when he had medicines. He was admitted 10 days later, and his wife 3 months after. Home was clean and comfortable. Lost twelve children.	...
574	Male	Widow	77	Boatbuilder	n Z (e)	5	Saved £80, and lived on it from 1879 to 1883 with son's help. Only out for 2 months since 1883.	...
575	"	Married	59	General Labourer	Z n u	24		...
576	Female	"	60	"	Z n	2		...



No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
577	(Infirm) Male	Married	62	Carman	(Old Age) n Z u	1½	Out of work 3 months in 1887. Wife kept him. Home clean. Wife had out-relief when her first husband died.	...
578	"	"	63	Dock Labourer	n Z w	11	Admitted in 1879. Could not get work. Had quarrelled with eldest son.	Son, No. 1138.
579	Female	Widow	69	...	n Z w	6	Had been ill with bronchitis some time, when daughter got her into Sick Asylum. "She could not keep her."	Grandson, No. 1110. Son-in-law, No. 1109.
580	"	"	74	Needle-woman	n Z w	4	Husband, a commercial traveller, died in 1852. Supported herself until 1881. Lived with son; he was out of work when she was admitted (1885).	Son, S <sup>3</sup> u.
581	"	"	88	Washing	n Z w	11+	Re-admitted in 1878. Lives with daughter when out.	Daughter, S w. Son, S i.
582	"	"	55	...	(n) Z w	2	Seven months after husband's death her son asked for her admission, —paralysed.	...
583	Male	Widow'r	69	General Labourer	n Z	1½	Admitted from common lodging-house. "Too old to work." Son cannot help.	...
584	"	"	64	Dock Labourer	n Z	6	Wife died in Sick Asylum after long illness. Man was living with daughter when admitted first.	...
585	Female	Widow	75	Servant	n Z	2	Passed from Bethnal Green. Husband, a painter, died 20 years before. Supported herself until 1887.	...
586	Male	Widow'r	67	Sells oranges, etc.	n Z	2½	Lived with son and daughter. Applied in 1884; not admitted until 1886, when son had gone.	Daughter, S u. <sup>1</sup>
587	"	Single	67	Stevedore's Labourer	n Z	2	Giddy; could not work. Done nothing for 2 months. Occupied a room for 13 years. Place very clean.	...
588	"	Married	71	General Labourer	n Z	5	Asked for out-relief in 1879. Admitted to Sick Asylum in 1884. Children help, but cannot support him.	Daughter, D 11 Daughter's children, D <sup>3</sup> L 1
589	"	Single	61	Rag-sorter	n Z	3	"Too old to work."	...
590	Female	Widow	81	...	n Z	7	Husband, a seaman, died 50 years ago. Daughter kept her for 4 years, but work became slack.	...

591	"	Single	56	Servant and Factory-hand	n Z	3	Could not work through weather (January 1886). Had been in Mile End Infirmary for 7 months. Has medicines, and is admitted in 1888.	Sister, No. 1163.
592	Male	Widow'r	78	Boatswain	n Z	6	At sea from boyhood. Had been staying with son.	...
593	"	Married	80	Waterside Labourer	n Z	1½	Man said he was too old for work when he applied for their admission. Wife lived a week after man's entry by selling the home.	Son, No. 1024.
594	Female	"	70	...	n Z	1½	Could not work and sons would not help him.	...
595	Male	Widow'r	77	Dock Labourer	n Z	3	Wife died; buried by parish (1883). Man cannot get work. Was in workhouse in 1882, and again in 1884.	...
596	"	"	71	Stevedore's Labourer	n Z	7	Had catarrh when admitted. Lived with daughter, who could not keep her, as husband's work was slack.	...
597	Female	Widow	69	Washing	n Z	8	Lived 10 years in Peabody Buildings. Could not pay rent, so applied. Destitute.	...
598	Male	Widow'r	73	Dock Labourer	n Z	2	Could not work. Not done any for 5 weeks. Wife and children dead.	...
599	"	"	65	Deal Porter	n Z	2	Supported by children until 1884. Asked for relief in 1883. Husband died (1886) in infirmary.	...
600	Female	Widow	84	Needle-woman	n Z	5	Man had not worked for 9 weeks when this couple were admitted. Both have been out once since.	Son, S.
601	Male	Married	71	Coal-whipper	n Z	2	Had not worked for 2 years before his admission. Lived with son, who went into Sick Asylum 7 weeks before.	Son, S. Daughter, S u. Daughter (late), S w.
602	Female	"	66	...	n Z	2	Man cannot work. Lived with this woman since 1830. Kept by daughter before admission. Son will not help as he is illegitimate.	Son, S. <sup>3</sup> Son, No. 606.
603	Male	Widow'r	73	Shipwright	n Z	6	No record of admission. Wife, a drunkard, had relief (medical) in 1879.	Daughter, S u.
604	"	Single	80	Ropemaker	n Z	6	Supported by son until his death in 1881. Sister-in-law could not keep her.	Father-in-law, No. 1039. Parents, Nos. 604-5.
605	Female	"	77	Shirt finisher	n Z	6	At sea since 14th year. Left ship 6 weeks before applying.	...
606	Male	Married	?	(In Lunatic Asylum)	M	15	Lived with sister when she applied first. Admitted 6 months after. Sister probably dead.	Sister, S w.
607	Female	Widow	65	Washing	n Z	8		
608	Male	Widow'r	68	Seaman	Z n	3		
609	Female	Single	53	Needle-woman	Z n	3		

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
610	(Infirm) Female	contd.) Widow	80	Washing & Knitting	(Old Age) Z n	8	Asked for out-relief in 1877. Son allowed 2s. 6d. a week. Had medicines in 1881, and admitted in 1883. Son gone to Australia.	...
611	"	"	78	Cook	Z n	3	Husband died 1865. Woman asked for out-relief in 1881. Became chargeable 4 years later.	...
612	Male	Widow'r	82	General Labourer	Z n	10	Left his wife 4 months before he was admitted because she drank. She died in Sick Asylum. Man not out since 1882.	...
613	Female	Widow	65	Needlework & Washing	Z n	1½	Lived in one place 14 years. Admitted to Sick Asylum first.	...
614	Male	Widow'r	73	Hammerman	Z n	12 +	Many years in workhouse. Came out for a day in 1883 to see daughter off to Canada.	...
615	"	Single	80	Potman	Z n	6 m	Silk-weaver by trade, but not worked at it for 8 years. Potman for 4 years, now too old. Good character.	...
616	"	Widow'r	71	Coal-whipper	Z n	9	Admitted in 1880. Not out since. Has a fistula.	...
617	"	Married	60	Dock Labourer	n S p	10	Had a bad leg in 1879. Son, a bad character, does not help, and wife cannot. Winters in workhouse.	...
618	"	Widow'r	66	"	Z x u	12	In 1877 had medicine through accident at docks. Wife died 1880. Destitute in 1886.	Daughter, S.
619	"	"	81	Shipkeeper	Z x	6	Seaman for 50 years. Partially paralysed through an accident. Excellent character.	...
620	"	"	70	Oven Builder's Labourer	Z x	10	Twenty-seven years with one firm. Discharged because too old. Willing and steady.	...
621	Female	Widow	75	Paper-bag maker	Z x s	12	Husband, seaman, not heard of since 1851. Broke her leg in 1877. Frequent medical relief until 1885.	Brother-in-law, S.
622	Male	Widow'r	70	General Labourer	Z m r	9	Admitted from common lodging-house. Tramped from Epping. In and out.	...
623	"	"	70	Commission Agent	Z m w	4	Was an Inspector of Nuisances. Was imprisoned for debt for which he was surety, and lost place. Wife died 1885. His mind became affected.	...

{ 624	" Female	Married	74	Bootmaker	Z s v	7	Man had medical aid in 1882. Lived with this woman for 14 years. Worked 12 years for one master. Moved to Poplar, but came back in 1885. R. O. there threatened to prosecute him if he applied again. He is admitted; woman and children passed from Poplar a month later.	Sons, Nos. 626-7.
{ 626	Male	" Child (In Schools)	42	"	S v	6 m		...
{ 627	"	" Child (In Schools)	14	"	S v 3	6 m		...
{ 628	"	" Widow'r	12	"	S v 3	6 m		...
629	"	"	67	Ballast-worker	Z s v	7	Poisoned his hand; had medical attendance. Entered workhouse to avoid his paramour.	...
630	"	"	72	Mastmaker	Z s p	9	Admitted in 1880 with a bad leg. Out several times since; acts as watchman at common lodging-house.	...
631	Female	"	76	Coal-worker	Z s p	8	Wife had medicines; daughter applies for her father. Ill when admitted.	Daughter, S v.
632	Female	Widow	67	Field work	Z s p	3	Sister-in-law kept her 2 months and got her into the workhouse when she was ill.	Cousin, No. 1127. Brother, S p r.
633	Male	Widow'r	67	Labourer at Seed Mills	Z s e	2	Earned 30s. a week for 25 years. In club. Not worked for 8 months; ill. Wife dead 8 years.	...
634	Female	Widow	88	"	Z s w	9	Husband died in workhouse 1881. Was 18 years in one situation. They were admitted together.	...
635	"	Single	74	Servant	Z s n	1 +	Came from Portsmouth in 1845. Saved £20 while in service. Spent while working irregularly. Has an internal ailment.	...
636	Male	Widow	78	"	Z s	6	Admitted with husband in 1883. He had not worked for 2 years. Both were ill; had sold goods.	...
637	"	Married	79	General Labourer	Z s	3	Had accident in 1877. Sought admission several times since. Not worked for 6 years when he was admitted.	Wife, No. 1182.
638	"	"	70	Dock Labourer	Z s	6	Went into Sick Asylum with a bad leg in 1884. Not out much since.	...
639	Female	"	71	"	Z s	3	In Sick Asylum with paralysis in 1887. Home very dirty.	...
640	Female	Widow	68	Mind's child'n or begs	Z s	10 m	Lived with daughter. Nephew cannot continue to help.	Son-in-law, No. 1025. Daughter, S u 1
641	Male	Single	67	Scaman	Z s	2 d	Admitted suffering from dysentery.	...
642	"	Married	75	Dock Labourer	Z s	4	Wife works at dust-yard and has partially supported man, who cannot work—ill.	...
643	Female	"	70	Warehouseman	Z s	5	Man left work through a quarrel with foreman in 1880. Four years later he asked for relief. Admitted. Out for 2 days since. Forty years in Sick Club. Wife "in and out" since 1884.	...

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
644	(Infirm) Male	Widow'r	83	Coal-whipper	(Old Age) Z s	16	Admitted from common lodging-house. In Sick Asylum with epilepsy in 1857.	...
645	"	"	63	Tea cooper	Z s	3	Worked 33 years at one wharf. Saved £73. Unable to work for 3 years; spent all. Sons married.	...
646	Female	Widow	75	Wash and Mangle	Z s	5	Husband dead 21 years. Lived with daughter. Landlady took mangle for rent.	{ Son-in-law, S. Son-in-law's mother, No. 184.
647	"	"	73	Sells hearth-stone	Z s	5	Blind. Husband had medicines in 1884-5. After his death widow is admitted.	Son's wife, S p.
648	Male	Married	63	Shoemaker	Z s	11	Had medicines for wife in 1878. Admitted in 1888. Wife goes to live with daughter.	Daughter, No. 996.
649	Female	Widow	89	...	Z s	11	Husband, a galvaniser, died in Islington Infirmary. Widow lived with son. Went into Sick Asylum in 1878, and thence to workhouse.	Daughter, M.
650	"	"	81	Needle-woman	Z s	5	Husband, a publican, failed. Left wife a little shop at death. C. O. S. assisted her. Applied when ill.	...
651	Male	Widow'r	74	Sawyer	Z s	12	Man in a fit taken to workhouse by police. Goes to hospital, then back to workhouse. Cannot work.	Sister, S z
652	"	"	71	General Labourer	Z s	7 d	Was at Salvation Army Shelter for 11 months. Earned a little by holding horses.	...
653	"	Married	75	Dock Labourer	Z s	6	Gets little work and is often ill. Sober and industrious.	...
654	Female	"	62	Canvas work	Z u	2	Kept her husband until work was slack. Then she had to give up.	...
655	"	Widow	73	Washing	Z	3½	Daughter kept her until she was near her confinement. Had only one room. Old woman is helpless.	...
656	Male	Widow'r	78	Sawyer	Z	3	Supported for 1½ years before admission by 2 married children. Not able to work at trade.	...
657	"	"	75	Painter	Z	8	Lived with daughter before entering. Two sons refused to help.	...
658	"	Married	75	Coal work	Z	4	Had medicines 1885-7; earning 10s. a week. Home nice and clean. Admitted January 1888. Wife kept by son and grandchildren.	Stepson's wife, Vdh.

659	"	Widow'r	77	General Labourer	Z	3	Good character. Step-daughter kept him for several years.	...
660	"	Single	65	Dock Labourer	Z	1	His sister obtained medicines for him, and a year after he is admitted to workhouse.	Mother, No. 661.
661	Female (In Sick Asylum)	Widow	86	...	S z	1	Lived with son for 10 or 12 years. He got her into the Sick Asylum. Home was very dirty.	Son, No. 660.
662	"	"	77	Charing	Z	12	Passed from Whitechapel. Out for a month (1884) while daughter went hopping.	...
663	"	"	73	Needlework	Z	10 +	Has rheumatism. Re-admitted to workhouse after 3 weeks' absence in August 1879.	...
664	"	"	84	"	Z	7	Gave up a room in an almshouse because she could not get enough to keep her. Entered Sick Asylum in 1884.	...
665	"	"	76	...	Z	10	Lived with son until she entered Sick Asylum. Could not agree with daughter-in-law. Been out two or three times.	...
666	Male	Single	72	General Labourer	Z	4	Admitted in 1883 with ulcerated foot. Out twice for a few days since.	...
667	"	Widow'r	80	Lighterman	Z	4 +	Passed from St. George's East. Out twice since 1884. Coloured man—too old to get a ship.	...
668	"	"	64	Ship's Cook	Z	3 m	Had no work. Has wintered in Sick Asylum or workhouse since her first admission.	...
669	Female	Widow	77	Basket-maker	Z	11	Admitted destitute. Not worked for 4 weeks. Out for short periods since—goes hopping.	...
670	"	"	77	Hawker	Z	11	Says she has not enough to live on, and she wants rest.	Gr'daughter, O p y.
671	"	"	69	...	Z	4	Left workhouse in 1871 to act as housekeeper; too old for that in 1879, and has to return.	...
672	"	"	90	Housekeeper	Z	10 +	Old couple are passed from Mile End. Had been staying with daughter. Woman has been out and stayed with her daughter two or three times since.	Daughter, S v.
673	Male	Married	64	Labourer	Z	4	Lived by pawnung her things for 6 weeks before admission. Wintered in workhouse at first; not out since 1886.	...
674	Female	"	64	(Invalid)	Z s	4	Applied in 1885. Has an annuity of £10. Admitted in 1888. Does not approve of provident clubs.	Daughter, S.
675	"	Widow	84	Water-press seller	Z	11	Lived with brother until 1882, admitted then with a bad leg. Chargeable since.	Daughter's Paramour, S u.
676	Male	Widow'r	86	House Painter	Z	4 m	...	...
677	"	"	73	General Labourer	Z	7	...	...

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
678	(Infirm) Male	Married	71	Shoemaker	(Old Age) Z	2	Lived rent-free with cousin. Too old for work. Wife supports herself by nursing.	...
679	Female	Widow	68	Canvas work	Z	8	Out of work 7 weeks, and had sold furniture when she entered. Let again to work with sister, but injured her back, and was again chargeable.	...
680	Male	Single	70	Potman	Z	6	Admitted ill in 1833. Earned 5s. a week, food, and lodging. Out several times since.	Son, X.
681	"	Married	74	Basket-maker	Z	4	He and his wife, a tailress, maintained themselves until man was taken ill.	Sister, No. 152
682	"	Single	61	General Labourer	Z	4	Broke a blood-vessel in 1885. Sight is bad.	...
683	"	Widow'r	69	Dock Labourer	Z	10	Has rheumatic gout. Only out for 2 days since 1881.	Wife's sister, Z w s.
684	Female	Widow	76	Needle-woman	Z (?)	11	Shared a room with another woman until her admission. Out several times; goes hopping or to work at jam-works.	Son and family, see 1140.
685	Male	Single	76	Coal work	Z (?)	8	First admitted with injured thumb. Re-admitted 1885. Tried to get work in 1886, but failed.	Sister (late), M.
686	"	Widow'r	74	Ropemaker	Z (?)	12+	Readmitted in 1877. Had 4 months' work in 1878.	...
687	"	"	66	Leather Cutter	Z (?)	15	In workhouse since 1874.	...
688	(Sick) Female	Married	64	...	Z v	2½	Left husband in 1870. Lived with another man. Had medicines until 1888, when she entered the Sick Asylum.	Son, Hil.
689	Male	"	87	General Labourer	Z d	8+	Came out of workhouse in 1881, and was readmitted 3 days later. Used to drink and neglect his family.	Paramour, D v.
690	Female	Widow	63	Canvas work	Z d¹	2 m	Admitted to Sick Asylum—paralysis. Home was clean; becomes very dirty after she entered.	Paramour's brother, S d f.
691	"	"	92	...	Z p	7+	Used to have out-relief, and had been in workhouse before 1882, the date of first record. Lived with daughter.	...
								Late husband, No. 1087.
								Daughter, S w.
								Granddaughter, Sh.

692	"	"	86	...	Z w	12	Kept a lodging-house until her goods were taken. Had 5s. a week out-relief until admission (1878). Senctus.	...
693	"	"	64	Shirt Finisher	Z w	1	Helped by son and daughter till former died in Mile End Infirmary (1888), when woman entered Sick Asylum.	...
694	"	"	85	Needle work and Nursing	Z w	19	Husband died in 1859. Widow became a nurse. Had out-relief 1870-88, then admitted. Softening brain.	...
695	"	"	59	Monthly Nurse	Z n	1½	Has bronchitis. Was staying with a friend when first admitted.	...
696	Male	Widow'r	84	General Labourer	Z n	15	Came from Norfolk at 17. Worked 40 years for one firm. In workhouse 1874-78, and then sent to prison for destroying clothes. Soon back again.	...
697	Female	Widow	66	Shirt work	Z s w	2	Husband died 1861. Supported herself until 1877, when she had medicines. Sons helped a little. Sold things in 1889.	Late brother, S.
698	"	"	67	Needlework	Z s	1½	Bronchitis. Missionary called R. O.'s attention to case. Woman has 3s. a week from son. Room very clean.	...
699	"	Single	72	Washing	Z s	8	Lived with her brother; ill when admitted. Out about a year (1881-82). Passed from Poplar 1882.	...
700	"	"	79	Knitting	Z (?)	22	Lived with brother; had 4s. a week out-relief until September 1883. Then ill, and sent to Sick Asylum.	Brother, S n.
	(LUNATIC AND IMBECILE ASYLUMS)							Sister-in-law, S x n.¹
								Nephew, S u.
701	Male	Married	33	Barman	(Drink) D m	1½	Admitted with delirium tremens in 1887; was discharged cured. In 1888 man was passed from Mile End Old Town.	Father, Z p.
702	"	Single	25	"	D m	1½	Discharged from prison suffering from delirium tremens in August 1887, and admitted to workhouse. Had 7 days for drinking.	Children, Nos. 885-6.
703	"	"	65	Coal-whipper	D z	8	In 1881 he was admitted to workhouse. Had fallen downstairs. In 1887 again admitted, and transferred to asylum.	...
704	Male	Single	21	(Trade misfortune) ...	T¹ m	10	Father, a shipwright, often out of work. Mother asked to have this paralysed boy admitted in 1877. He was admitted in 1879; father gone to sea.	Grandmother, No. 976.

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
705	(Sick) Female	contd.) Widow	62	...	(Sickness) S w m	4	Daughter asked for medicines in 1855. Same year woman was sent to Sick Asylum, thence to asylum.	Son, I s.
706	Male	Single	42	(Mental) Fish Porter	(Disorder) M v h	5½	Admitted to Sick Asylum. Paralytic fit. Sent to asylum. Father in Mile End workhouse.	(Father, Z. Brother, S e. Paramour, M t v h. Children, Nos. 842 s.
707	"	Child	11	...	M d l	5	Uncontrollable. Threw knife at sister.	Father, No. 1057.
708	Female	Married	58	(Firewood Merchant)	M d	5 m	Woman and her daughter drank, and brought husband down.	...
709	"	"	43	(Seaman)	M d	1	Had been drinking and threw herself in the Thames. Police took her to the workhouse.	...
710	Male	Widow'r	53	Engine-fitter	M d	1	Wife died March 1858. Man was in Sick Asylum in following month, and in May was found wandering in streets. Would have pension of £100 per annum but for drink.	...
711	Female	Married	47	...	M d l	12½	Sent to asylum in 1876. Husband used to ill-treat her.	(Brother-in-law, De. Sister-in-law, No. 1059.
712	"	"	33	(Railway Porter)	M d l	2	Sent to asylum in 1857. Cured, but had a relapse in 1858. Sober and industrious. Drunken husband ill-treated and neglected her.	...
713	"	Single	39	...	M d	6 m	Found wandering in the streets and taken to workhouse by the police.	...
714	"	Married	68	(Cooper)	M d	11½	Been in asylum twice from Poplar Union before admission in 1877. She and her husband were drunk when R. O. fetched the woman.	...
715	Male	"	49	Hammerman	M d	2½	In Holloway Gaol for cutting his throat before he was sent to Asylum. Had been drinking.	...
716	"	"	73	Carpenter	M d	10	Had a fall while drunk. Admitted a few days after. Nine grown-up children live in one street.	...
717	"	Single	44	Labourer	M d	2	Admitted on mother's application. Fancied people were trying to kill him. Had been drinking.	...
718	Male	Married	42	Butcher	M d e	1	Lost trade through drink and betting.	...
719	"	Single	44	Deal Porter	M d p	2	Was in workhouse with a bad leg in 1857. Lived at common lodging-house. Deputy said he was uncontrollable. Sent to asylum in 1858.	...

720	"	"	37	Dock Labourer	M p	11	Had 6 months' imprisonment for insubordination while in militia in 1878. Admitted "unable to work" when discharged.	...
721	Female	"	27	...	M i	9½	Deaf and dumb. Been subject to fits from infancy. Was violent.	...
722	"	Deserted	65	Fishmonger	M a	12	Husband left her in 1872. She thinks he was drowned in the North Sea, and claims £3000 from the owners.	Daughters(2), M <sup>2</sup> a. 1
723	"	Single	46	...	M o	1	Mother died in April 1858. Sister could not control her, and she is admitted.	...
724	Male	"	17	...	M o	4½	Father died. Stepmother brought the child. "Half an idiot."	...
725	Female	"	29	...	M o	9½	Father died at sea (1863). Mother died in 1877. In 1879 her uncle applied for admission of this girl —imbecile.	...
726	"	Married	71	(Sign Writer)	M t	8	Husband supported woman for 9 months in an asylum. Work became slack; he asked for her admission.	...
727	Male	"	45	Shipwright	M t y	8½	Been troubled because he was out of work. Ill for 2 months. Sent to Sick Asylum and thence to Banstead.	Wife's parents, S z.
728	Female	Widow	68	...	M w	10	Husband died in March 1879. Widow became insane in following month. Family had small-pox in 1877.	...
729	Male	Single	30	...	M	12	Chargeable since 1877. Parents have had relief since. Brothers and sister show a want of mental power.	Parents, S d a.
730	Female	"	41	Machinist	M	3½	Admitted at mother's request in 1835 and again in 1858. Willing to go, "provided she never came back to her friends."	Father, M.
731	Male	Widow'r	76	Engineer	M	6	Brought by nephew. Wanted to die. Drank water thinking it was poison. Had ss. a week from Trade Society.	...
732	"	Single	29	Clicker	M	4½	Returned from Northampton in 1884 and entered workhouse. Mother took him out, but he became violent and was re-admitted.	Father, S <sup>2</sup> u.
733	Female	"	40	...	M	4	Was staying with her brothers when admitted. Had been "queer" 4 weeks. Stepmother said to have been unkind.	...
734	Male	Widow'r	74	...	M	1 m	Sons told R. O. that father (lodging alone) was insane. Sent to asylum under magistrate's order.	...

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
735	(Sick) Female	contd.) Married	69	(Mental) (Sailor)	Disorder M	6	Cut her throat in 1882. Husband paid for her at Bethlem until 1883, when she was admitted. Man had to sell small tobaccoist's business.	...
736	Male	Widow	52	Plasterer	M	10	Sent to Brentwood Asylum from West Ham and passed to Stepney in 1879. Been in asylum six or seven times before.	...
737	"	Married	63	Tobacco-pipe maker	M	4	Wife said he had been ailing for 6 months. Certified insane.	...
738	Female	"	37	(Engine-fitter)	M	11	Sent to asylum in 1878 suffering from puerperal mania. Discharged cured, but had again soon after. In 1885 she was passed from Mile End.	...
739	Male	Single	18	...	M	12+	Father, a hairdresser, was drowned in 1879. Mother died in 1882.	Great-uncle, No. 1066.
740	Female	"	20	(Labourer)	M	12½	"Unit to be with other children."	...
741	Male	Married	53	Marine Engineer	M	11	Had sunstroke in 1878. Pensioned off with £40 a year. In asylum in 1879. Sent home in 1880, but had again 2 months later.	...
742	Female	"	65	(Coal Meter)	M	19	Husband ordered to pay 4s. a week towards support. Reduced to 3s. 6d. on account of family. Payments irregular.	...
743	Male	"	40	Wire-ropes maker	M	4	Wife got man into asylum. His brother says she drank, and this preyed on his mind; but this statement is attributed to spite. Woman maintains the children.	Sister, S.
744	"	Single	59	Shipwright	M	13+	Only record of transfer from Colney Hatch to Hanwell Asylum in 1879.	Sister, S w.
745	Female	Widow	63	Nurse	M	30	Admitted to Colney Hatch Asylum in 1859; sent to Levesden in 1875.	Brother, No. 744.
746	"	Single	54	...	M	18	Sent to Hanwell Asylum in 1871.	Father, Z.
747	"	"	28	(Master on Training Ship)	M	11	Brought by mother. Threatens to burn the house, etc. Man's occupation concealed.	...
748	"	"	33	Trouser Finisher	M	10+	Been subject to fits for 7 years when admitted to Sick Asylum in 1879; became worse, and sent to asylum soon after.	Mother, S w.

749	"	"	27	...	M	2	Had fits from infancy. Brain softening.	Father, S.
750	"	Married	40	Tailor	M	8	Landlady told R. O. this woman was violent. She was removed to the workhouse. Husband a labourer.	...
751	"	"	34	(Portfolio maker)	M	2	Sent to asylum from Edmonton, and then passed to Stepney.	...
752	"	Child	11	(Drayman)	M	2	Father had medicines in January 1887. Child was sent to asylum in following month. Dangerous to other children.	...
753	"	Single	27	...	M	8	Admitted from a poor home. Father could not provide necessaries. An "invalid many years."	Mother, D s.
754	"	"	47	...	M	12	Been in Colney Hatch Asylum since 1877.	{ Mother, n Z. Brother, D s. Uncle, No. 511.
755	Male	"	24	Seaman	M	2 m	Became insane while on a voyage. Was taken off his ship at Shadwell by R. O. and sent to asylum.	...
756	Female	"	33	Servant	M	11	Was in Colney Hatch Asylum in 1878. In February 1889 she was sent to the workhouse; had just left a situation through illness.	...
757	Male	"	35	Labourer	n M	4	Parents kept him until 1883, when they apply for his admission.	Mother, S. Brother S.²
758	Female	Married	66	(Police pensioner)	M	2 m	Husband obtained medical order for her. Sent to asylum eight days later. Delicate for years.	Daughter, No. 1013.
759	"	Single	25	Servant	M	6	Sent to asylum in 1883 and 1885, but recovered. Again admitted in 1888. Grandparents died in workhouse.	{ Aunt, Z. Aunt, D s. Stepfather's mother, No. 977.
760	Male	Married	69	Boiler-maker	M	7	Worked as a labourer 1872-82. Was staying with a son when (1885) he was sent to asylum.	Son, S.²
761	Male	Single	39	Dock foreman	M	1	Subject to epileptic fits since 1865. Discharged from Docks in 1884 through loss of memory. Lived with parents.	...
762	Female	"	34	Servant	M	7	Sent to asylum in 1882. In February 1888 she asked to be sent to Colney Hatch Asylum. Thinks she "is bad enough." Had been out 6 months.	...
763	"	?	48	...	M	18½	No record beyond date of admission—October 1870.	{ Father, n Z. Sister, S d.
764	"	Single	26	(Street Musician)	M	3	Weak mind from birth. Father has four other children to support.	Parents, G f t.

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
765	Male	(Sick) Single	67	Labourer	Disorder	10	Mother said he had been subject to fits since 16 years old. Very violent.	...
766	"	"	66	"	M	6+	Taken to workhouse by police, and then sent to asylum. Had been in asylum before (1878).	{ Sister S m. Sister, No. 1037.
767	Female	Single	28	Servant	M	1 m	Came home from service and was brought by sister next day. Has delusions.	Mother, Z a.
768	"	Married	72	(Caulker)	M	9½	Woman, who had been ill 5 weeks, was admitted to workhouse. Doctor said she would become insane.	...
769	"	Single	26	Needlework	M	1½	Lived with mother. Seized with epileptic fits in September 1887, and sent to asylum in October. Recovered, but had relapse in 1889.	...
770	Male	Child	12	(General Dealer)	M	8	Idiot from birth. Father pays 2s. 6d. a week.	Grandfather, n Z.
771	Female	Single	16	...	M	4½	In Earlewood Asylum until 1884, when father wrote from the colonies that he could not afford cost. He pays 10s. a week now.	...
772	"	Widow	74	...	M	5 w	Lived in her own house; been very eccentric for years; neighbours complained, and she was certified a lunatic.	...
773	Male	Single	35	Labourer	M	4 m	Left army in 1884. Lived with a woman until reserve pay ended; then she left him.	Sister, D l u. <sup>1</sup>
774	"	"	38	Dock Labourer	M	12	Sent to Colney Hatch in 1877, but not kept long. Re-admitted in 1879. Mother a drunkard, "rum was her chief support."	...
775	"	"	38	Painter and Clerk	M	12	"Poor nervous fellow." Admitted destitute. Father, now dead, was a tradesman.	...
776	"	Married	56	Mate	M s	6	Epileptic, sent to Sick Asylum in 1883, and again in 1884. Became insane in 1887. Character good.	{ Stepson, M. Stepdaughter; has relief.
777	"	Single	30	...	M s	1½	Father's executors said man had been subject to fits for 5 years. Entitled to £250 under father's will.	...
778	"	"	35	...	M s <sup>1</sup>	11½	Imbecile from infancy. Admitted while father is ill. Mother afraid to leave him with children.	...
779	"	"	27	...	M s <sup>1</sup>	11	Father often had rheumatism. Not safe to leave this son with the children.	Parents, S i. Sister, S d a.

780	"	Married	75	Stevadore's Labourer	M z	9	Lost a toe through accident in Dock; was in Sick Asylum in 1880. Lived with sons, who brought him to Relief Office in 1888. Insane.	...
781	"	Widow's	81	Edge Tool Maker	M z	2	Lived with son. Lost business through neglect. Asked to be admitted in 1882. Becoming worse, was admitted in 1887.	...
782	"	"	69	...	(Age) Z m	4 m	Not worked for 16 months when he applied. Stayed with daughter, who was moving. Sent to workhouse.	...
783	Female	Married	60	Washing	Z m	10½	Husband had not worked for 22 weeks through an injured thumb. Both were admitted. Came out again, and were passed from Poplar later.	Husband, Z z.
784	Male	Child	11	(Clerk)	Parents O <sup>3</sup>	6 w	Father died in 1888 after 3 months' illness. Mother, who had been ill 5 years, also died in 1889, leaving these three children, two girls (19 and 17) working at factory and tailoring, and a boy (14) earning 6s. a week. Two children were admitted, and sister having failed to get her into an orphanage, the third 3 weeks after.	Sister, No. 786.
785	"	"	4	"	O <sup>3</sup>	6 w	Grandfather supported this girl until her eleventh year. Got her admitted as she was becoming uncontrollable.	Brothers, Nos. 784-5.
786	Female	(In Workhouse)	6	"	O <sup>3</sup>	3 w	Mother had relief at times since 1878; died in 1884. Eldest sister kept this girl until 1886, when she was admitted.	Uncle, S <sup>3</sup>
787	Female	Child	14	...	O <sup>3</sup>	3	Father and mother died of small-pox. Lads and an elder brother were admitted when father was sent to the hospital. Elder had is turning out badly. Lost places.	...
788	"	"	12	...	O <sup>3</sup>	3	Lad was admitted after mother's death on sister's application.	Brother, No. 790.
789	Male	"	14	...	O <sup>3</sup>	4½	Admitted to schools after mother's death with two sisters. Step-father applied.	G'dmothers (2), Z
790	"	"	10	...	O <sup>3</sup>	4½	Father died in 1875; this child was kept by a married sister until 1880, when her second child was born.	{ Brothers (3), O <sup>3</sup>
791	"	"	12	...	O <sup>3</sup>	9 m	Parents died in 1877. Uncle brought the children (3) after father's funeral. Other two are out.	{ Grandmother, Z
792	"	"	13	...	O <sup>3</sup>	5		{ Mother, No. 1011.
793	Female	"	13	...	O <sup>3</sup>	9		Sisters, O <sup>3</sup>
794	"	"	13	...	O <sup>3</sup>	11		...

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
795	(Schools) Female	Child	13	...	of Parents O <sup>3</sup>	5	Father died 1890. Mother drowned 1893. Passed from City of London Union, 1884.	...
796	Male	"	14	...	O <sup>3</sup>	3	Mother kept him until they were turned out of home and goods seized (1880). Woman had been unwell 6 months. She went into Sick Asylum and died 9 days later.	...
797	"	"	8	...	O <sup>3</sup>	5	Father died 1883. Led chargeable while mother was in Sick Asylum. She died 1885, and aunt kept boy for 16 months.	Uncle, S d.
798	Female	"	15	...	O <sup>2</sup> s <sup>1</sup>	4½	Admitted with father and another sister in 1884.	Sister, No. 799.
799	"	"	11	...	O <sup>2</sup> s <sup>1</sup>	4½	Mother died in St. George's Infirmary in 1883.	Late father, U z s.
800	"	"	14	...	O <sup>1</sup> s <sup>1</sup>	8	Admitted with a sister, when father was taken ill. At his death, 3 months later, mother and three other children became chargeable.	(Sister, O <sup>1</sup> s <sup>1</sup> Aunt, No. 1145. Uncle, No. 1144. Cousin, No. 1146. Cousin, S h u <sup>1</sup> )
801	Male	"	14	...	O <sup>1</sup> s <sup>1</sup>	6½	Admitted 2 months after father's death. One sister married, another at home subject to fits.	Mother, No. 1012.
802	Female	"	8	...	O <sup>1</sup> s	1½	Widowed mother had medicines for this girl and got her into Sick Asylum. Asked that she might be kept. Work slack.	Great-aunt, S w. Sister, S. Sister, No. 1103.
803	"	Child	10	...	O <sup>1</sup> s	4	Father died 1884. This girl was in Fever Hospital 6 months later, and mother in Sick Asylum. In 1886 mother got a situation; girl entered schools.	Uncle, S (e).
804	Male	"	10	(Lighterman)	O <sup>1</sup> s <sup>2</sup>	2½	Father died in 1887. Boy admitted 6 weeks later, and mother went to her parents. Good character.	...
805	"	"	12	...	O <sup>1</sup>	2	Widowed mother cannot keep three children. Two admitted. Poor and rough. Worked at biscuit bakery.	Brother, S o <sup>1</sup>
806	"	"	13	...	O <sup>1</sup>	8½	Mother, a stewardess on steamboat, gets this lad and his brother admitted. Earnings too small to support all.	Brother, O <sup>1</sup>
807	Female	"	13	(Groom)	O <sup>1</sup>	9	Father, a "Forester," died 1879. Two children were admitted 4 months later. In 1881, the mother got a situation and the youngest child is admitted.	...
808	"	"	12	"	O <sup>1</sup>	9	Good character. Woman pays s. a week towards support of children.	...
809	Male	"	11	"	O <sup>1</sup>	7½		...

810	"	"	8	...	O <sup>1</sup>	1½	Father died (1885) in Sick Asylum. Mother and sister kept this lad until 1887. Sack-makers.	...
811	"	"	5	(Dock Labourer)	O <sup>1</sup> u <sup>2</sup>	1	Two girls admitted at father's death (1885). He had been ill for 2 years. Widow supported herself and the boy by nursing and mangle until January 1888, when she asked for his admission. Good character.	Sisters, Nos. 812-3.
812	Female	"	8	"	O <sup>1</sup>	4	Father died of small-pox. These girls were admitted 3 months after. Mother gets work; keeps her baby, and a friend takes the other child.	Sister, No. 815.
813	"	"	9	"	O <sup>1</sup>	4	Father died in 1880. Three children were admitted. Mother kept other three.	(Sister, O <sup>1</sup> Grandmother, X z. Grandfather, Z.
814	"	"	14	"	O <sup>1</sup>	5	Father paralysed for 2 years before his death. In a club. Widow got a younger child into an orphanage and goes to service.	Grandmother, Z (e). Sister, No. 1035.
815	"	"	13	"	O <sup>1</sup>	5	Father died in 1879. Admitted with elder sister in 1880. Mother kept two others. One has died since; mother and another sister gone to service.	Grandfather, Z (e). Mother, S w.
816	"	"	12	(Coster-monger)	O <sup>1</sup>	9	Eldest lad admitted in 1886 during father's illness. Family struggle on, man working at times, until his death in 1888. Then the three children become permanently chargeable, and mother gets work.	Brothers, Nos. 819-20.
817	Male	"	10	...	O <sup>1</sup>	3½	Father sent to small-pox hospital in 1884. In 1886 these children were passed from the New Forest Union. Mother in service in the country.	...
818	Female	"	14	...	O <sup>1</sup>	9	Father died (1884) after a year's illness. Mother confined the next day. Four children admitted to schools. Mother hard working. C. O. S. help.	Grandmother, W (e). Brother, O <sup>1</sup> Sister, O <sup>1</sup>
819	Male	"	13	...	O <sup>1</sup>	3	Father died suddenly in 1883. Two boys were admitted to the schools, and mother and these girls to the Sick Asylum.	Brothers, Nos. 819-20.
820	Female	"	9	...	O <sup>1</sup>	4 m	Father died in 1883 leaving five children. Widow kept them 3 months with club money. Two were sent to the schools. In following year two others were admitted, and C. O. S. sent the woman to a convalescent home. Mother sober and honest. Home clean.	Brothers, No. 820-30. Aunt, S w. Aunt, No. 1138. Uncle, C.
821	Male	"	7	...	O <sup>1</sup>	4 m		...
822	Female	"	7	...	O <sup>1</sup>	2½		...
823	"	"	10	...	O <sup>1</sup>	2½		...
824	"	"	8	...	O <sup>1</sup>	5		...
825	"	"	11	...	O <sup>1</sup>	5		...
826	Female	"	14	...	O <sup>1</sup>	6		...
827	"	"	8	...	O <sup>1</sup>	6		...
828	" (In Workhouse)	"	7	(Lighterman)	O <sup>1</sup>	5		...
829	Male	Child	13	"	O <sup>1</sup>	5		...
830	"	"	9	"	O <sup>1</sup>	5		...
831	Female	"	11	"	O <sup>1</sup>	6		...
832	Male	"	9	...	O <sup>1</sup>	3 m	Father died in November 1883 and mother got these two children admitted in February 1889.	(Mother, No. 1157. Grandmother, W d h. Aunt, S d. Great-grandmother, Z s.)
833	" (In Workhouse)	Child	4	...	O <sup>1</sup>	3 m		...



No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
(834)	(Schools) Male	Child	13	(Loss (Carman)	of Parents O <sup>1</sup> (c)	contd. 5	Father, an "Oddfellow," died in 1884. Three children were admitted. Widow supports others by washing. Man was a teetotaler. Home clean and comfortable.	Aunt, S.
(835)	Female	"	11	"	O <sup>1</sup> (c)	5		
(836)	Male	"	11	"	O <sup>1</sup> (c)	2	Father died of consumption in 1886. Not worked for 10 months. Widow had £30 from "Hearts of Oak."	Sisters, Nos. 837-8.
(837)	Female	"	7	"	O <sup>1</sup> (c)	2	In 1887 she asked to have some of the seven children admitted, and these, the three youngest, were sent to the schools. Home tidy. Woman thrifty.	
(838)	"	"	9	"	O <sup>1</sup> (c)	2		
(839)	Male	"	8	"	O <sup>1</sup> (d)	6	Father died in Sick Asylum after a few months' illness. Mother got these two children into the schools and went to service. Pays for support of a younger child.	Grandfather, died in workhouse.
(840)	Female	"	10	"	O <sup>1</sup> (d)	6		...
841	"	"	10	(Seaman)	(Accident) X (u) <sup>1</sup>	7 m	Father said child was deaf and dumb through an accident when 2 years old. He had not worked for 6 weeks.	
(842)	Male	"	9	"	(Sickness) S v h	4½	Mother of these children lived with a fish porter. They were admitted to the schools when he was sent to an asylum.	{ Aunt, S h. Father, No. 706. Mother, M v h. Grandmother, S z.
(843)	Female	"	7	"	S v h	4½		{ Aunt, S. Sister, No. 1073. Uncle, S. (Cousins, Nos. 1015-17 Cousin, No. 849. Brothers, Nos. 846 and 848.
(844)	Male	"	10	(Bricklayer)	S <sup>1</sup> d <sup>2</sup> .	10	Family have had relief since 1877. Father met with an accident in 1887 and died in 1888. Children admitted during his illness.	
(845)	"	"	9	"	S <sup>1</sup> d <sup>3</sup>	9	Father admitted to Sick Asylum and these three children to the schools in January 1886. Man died 6 months after. Mother earns 8s. to 10s. a week, bottlewashing. She has medical aid occasionally for the other children.	
(846)	"	"	15	"	S <sup>1</sup> o <sup>1</sup>	3		
(847)	Female	"	13	"	S <sup>1</sup> o <sup>1</sup>	3		
(848)	Male	"	9	"	S <sup>1</sup> o <sup>1</sup>	3		
(849)	Female	"	14	"	O <sup>3</sup>	3	Mother died in 1880, father in 1883. He had not worked for 2 years. An aunt brought girl to R. O.	Brothers (2), O. 3 Cousins, Nos. 846-8.
(850)	Male	"	14	"	S <sup>2</sup> o <sup>1</sup>	2	Mother supported these lads for 15 months after father's death. Her health then fails. Family has had charity for many years.	{ Mother, No. 1008. Grandparents, had re- lief.
(851)	"	"	11	"	S <sup>2</sup> o <sup>1</sup>	2		

(852)	Female	"	11	(Seaman)	S <sup>1</sup> o <sup>1</sup>	5½	Father was brought home ill in 1883 and sent to Sick Asylum. Three children were admitted 5 weeks later. Man died in 1884, and another child was admitted. Widow has had medical attendance for herself and a posthumous child—since dead.	Sister, No. 853 Grandmother, W. Mother, S w.
(853)	Male	"	8	"	S <sup>1</sup> o <sup>1</sup>	5½		{ Aunt, No. 1161. { Cousin, No. 1162. { Cousin, S p.
(854)	"	"	7	"	S <sup>1</sup> o <sup>1</sup>	5		Mother, No. 1122.
856	Female	"	16	(Dock Labourer)	S <sup>1</sup> u <sup>1</sup>	6	Father, casual worker, applied for girl's admission. He pays 2s. a week.	Father, No. 147.
(857)	"	"	11	"	S <sup>1</sup> e <sup>3</sup> o <sup>1</sup>	3	Admitted while father was in Sick Asylum. They remain after his death.	
(858)	Male	"	9	"	S <sup>1</sup> e <sup>3</sup> o <sup>1</sup>	3		Mother, No. 1009.
(859)	"	"	9	"	S <sup>1</sup> t	3	Admitted while father was in Sick Asylum (1886). Discharged with him, but re-admitted when he went to Consumptive Hospital.	Brother, No. 1010.
(860)	Female	"	6	"	S <sup>1</sup> t	3		{ Aunt, W h. { Great-grandmother, W z. { Grandmother, L d.
(861)	"	"	15	(General Labourer)	(Hereditary) O <sup>1</sup> h	6½	Eldest girl admitted when father died; the younger a year later; mother being out of work.	Aunt, V.
(862)	Male	"	13	"	O <sup>1</sup> h	5½	Father died in 1884. Mother went to service in 1885, and lad was admitted to schools.	{ Grandmother, S w. { Aunt, S d. { Aunt, S e.
(863)	"	Child	7	"	O <sup>1</sup> h	4	A brother was sent to Smallpox Hospital in 1878. Numerous subsequent applications for aid. Father drowned at sea, 1887. Children admitted in 1888. Mother's character bad.	
(864)	"	"	6	"	O <sup>1</sup> h d <sup>3</sup>	1+	Father died after 12 weeks' illness. Girl was admitted then and her brother in the following year. Mother lives with a daughter. Parents drink.	
(865)	Female	"	10	"	O <sup>1</sup> h d <sup>2</sup>	1+		
(866)	"	"	9	"	O <sup>1</sup> h d <sup>3</sup>	7		
(867)	Male	"	12	"	O <sup>1</sup> h d <sup>3</sup>	6		
868	"	"	12	"	(Vice) V <sup>2</sup>	4½	Mother bears a bad character. She goes to service, and this lad is admitted. Two brothers were in the schools.	Mother, V w. Brothers (2), V. 3
869	Female	"	14	"	O v <sup>3</sup>	9	Mother and two children were admitted in 1878. This girl was put to nurse with a woman who had medicine for her in 1883. Admitted 1884. Illegitimate.	...
870	Male	"	14	"	O v <sup>2</sup>	11	Mother admitted with 2 illegitimate children in 1878. Father just dead. She died (1882) in Sick Asylum.	...
871	"	"	12	"	O v <sup>3</sup>	8	Illegitimate. Put out to nurse by mother in 1880. Payments not kept up. Mother died. Admitted in 1884.	...
872	Female	"	15	"	O v <sup>2</sup>	12	Illegitimate. Admitted to schools in 1877. Mother died in Sick Asylum the same year.	...

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
(873)	Male	Child	12	...	O d <sup>1</sup> v <sup>1</sup>	1	Admitted on grandfather's request. Both parents dead.	Grandmother, No. 874.
(874)	Female	Married	64	(Lighterman)	M	4 m	Daughter asked for medicines. Woman was sent to an asylum. Husband not worked for 2 years.	Late father, S d. Husband, No. 1068.
(875)	Male	Lunatic Child	12	(Asylum)	(Vice) D <sup>3</sup> i <sup>2</sup> o <sup>1</sup>	6	Father would not work. Took children on tramp. He died in 1887. Both parents drank.	Sister, No. 876. Mother, D L
(876)	Female	"	8	"	D <sup>3</sup> i <sup>2</sup> o <sup>1</sup>	6	Mother died in 1885. Admitted to workhouse with father in April 1886. Three months later a man brought the children and said the father was in London Hospital. He died in February 1889. A drunkard and impositor.	...
(877)	Male	"	12	(Engineer)	D <sup>3</sup> i <sup>2</sup> o <sup>1</sup>	3	Father failed through drink. He died in 1887. Five months after his widow got these boys into the schools.	Grandmother, W z.
(878)	Female	"	9	"	D <sup>3</sup> i <sup>2</sup> o <sup>1</sup>	3	Admitted 3 months after his death. Mother immoral and drunken.	Sister, No. 1181.
(879)	"	"	7	"	D <sup>3</sup> i <sup>2</sup> o <sup>1</sup>	3	Father died, 1882; earned £2 to £3:10s. weekly. Admitted 3 months after his death. Mother immoral and drunken.	Mother, D v p. Aunt, D p.
(880)	Male	"	8	(Coal Merchant)	D <sup>1</sup> o <sup>1</sup> e <sup>3</sup>	14	Boys admitted while father was in London Hospital. Belong to a drunken improvident family.	(Aunt, D.) Grandfather, No. 194. Mother, No. 1067. (Cousins, C.)
(881)	"	"	5	"	D <sup>1</sup> o <sup>1</sup> e <sup>3</sup>	14	Father was sent to an asylum through drink. Mother gets these lads into the schools. She drinks and neglects the children.	Father, No. 701.
(882)	"	"	14	(Foreman)	D <sup>3</sup> o <sup>1</sup> e <sup>3</sup>	7	Admitted after father's death. Both parents drank heavily, and home was dirty. Elder brothers at home, but are lazy.	Grandfather, Z p.
(883)	"	"	13	...	D <sup>3</sup> e <sup>3</sup> s	4+	Both parents are dead. Mother died in 1883. These girls and an elder sister were passed from West Ham in 1886. The latter is married now.	Mother, No. 998.
(884)	"	"	11	...	D <sup>3</sup> e <sup>3</sup> s	4+	Parents had relief from 1879 until death—woman in 1884, man in 1887. Grandmother kept child until January 1889.	Father, S d. Cousin, No. 999.
(885)	"	"	10	(Barnman)	D <sup>2</sup> m <sup>1</sup>	2 m		(Grandmother, S z.)
(886)	"	"	8	"	D <sup>3</sup> m <sup>1</sup>	2 m		Aunt, S e.
(887)	"	"	10	...	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>2</sup> e	7		Late parents, S.
(888)	"	"	13	...	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>2</sup> e	2½		Grandfather, S z.
(889)	Female	"	12	...	O d <sup>3</sup>	3		Grandmother, Z.
(890)	"	"	7	...	O d <sup>3</sup>	3		
(891)	"	"	10	...	O <sup>3</sup> d <sup>3</sup>	8		

(892)	Male	"	13	...	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>3</sup>	2	Father died in 1883. These brothers were admitted in 1887. Family relieved since 1878.	(Grandmother, No. 567. Aunt, No. 1108. Uncle and family, No. 1105-7. Mother, S w d. <sup>3</sup>
(893)	"	"	8	...	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>3</sup>	2		(Cousins (2) v. d. <sup>3</sup> Cousins (3) S d. h. Cousins (3) Nos. 19-21. Brother, O d. <sup>3</sup> Aunt, No. 1006. Mother, S w d.
(894)	"	"	14	...	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>3</sup>	9½	Admitted in 1879. Two stepbrothers who had helped mother had gone. An aunt takes him for a year. Mother drinks.	Brother, O d. <sup>3</sup> Mother, W d.
(895)	Female	"	11	...	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>2</sup>	1½	Father had medical relief from 1883 until his death (1887). Girl admitted with mother 6 months later.	Mother, No. 1004.
(896)	Male	"	8	...	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>2</sup>	2½	Four children were admitted after father's death; mother went to Lying-in Hospital. She starts as clothes dealer in 1887, and has her eldest boy home. Keeps bad company.	Stepmother, W d.
(897)	"	"	10	...	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>2</sup>	2½	Father died in December 1888. Mother had these children admitted in January. Two others at work. Woman drank and neglected children. Dirty.	Late father, D.
(898)	Female	"	4	(Stableman)	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>2</sup>	3 m	Father died (1885) in Sick Asylum, and stepmother, a drunkard, went into workhouse with children for a short time. In 1886, finding she was not liable for boy, she brought him to R. O.	Uncle, S.
(899)	Male	"	5	"	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>2</sup>	3 m	Father died through drink in 1886. Girl was sent to Sick Asylum with measles; two months later both children were sent to the schools. Mother keeps two others.	Late father, D.
(900)	Female	"	8	"	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>2</sup>	3 m	In Fever Hospital with two brothers in 1882. Father drowned in 1886. Widow gets this unmanageable boy in. Sober woman.	Grandmother, Z.
(901)	"	"	10	"	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>2</sup>	3 m	Father died in 1880; mother and three children admitted then. She has gone to service since.	...
(902)	Male	"	16	"	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>2</sup>	3½	Father died through injuries received when drunk. Two other children in Outcasts Haven. Mother slovenly.	
(903)	"	"	10	(Tobacco-cutter)	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>1</sup>	2½	Family lived at common lodging-house, where father was deputy. He died in 1884, and lad was admitted.	
(904)	Female	"	8	"	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>1</sup>	2½	Father died in hospital. This lad and a brother admitted directly after.	Late father, S d. Mother, S d. <sup>1</sup>
(905)	Male	"	13	...	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>1</sup>	7		
(906)	"	"	14	...	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>1</sup>	8½		
(907)	"	"	12	...	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>1</sup>	2		
(908)	"	"	5	...	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>1</sup>	1		
(909)	"	"	13	...	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>1</sup>	5		

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Charge- able.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
910	(Schools) Male	Child	15	...	(Drink) O <sup>2</sup> d <sup>1</sup>	contd. 14 +	Mother died at his birth. Father, a very drunken fellow, entered workhouse with his family (three girls and two boys) soon after. He died in 1876.	...
911	"	"	15	...	O <sup>1</sup> d <sup>1</sup> m <sup>2</sup>	6½	Father admitted to Sick Asylum and two boys to the schools in 1882. Four elder children supported themselves.	Great-uncle, L h. Great-uncle, S z.
(912 913 914)	Male Female Male	" " "	12 8 14	(Clerk) " "	(Improvidence) O <sup>1</sup> e <sup>3</sup> O <sup>1</sup> e <sup>3</sup> O <sup>1</sup> e <sup>3</sup>	4 4 4	Father earned £2:18s. a week. Died in 1885. Was in a club. Mother got these three children into the schools 6 weeks after. Will earn her living by washing.	"
915	Female	"	9	...	O <sup>1</sup> e <sup>1</sup>	5	Admitted after father's death. Mother has medicines.	Mother, W f a.
(916 917 918)	Male " Female	Child " "	8 10 12	(Engineer) " "	O <sup>1</sup> e <sup>1</sup> O <sup>1</sup> e <sup>1</sup> O <sup>1</sup> e <sup>1</sup>	14 14 14	Father died in December 1887. No club. Mother got these three children into the schools and kept three others. Dr. Barnardo has taken one since.	Brothers, Nos. 916, 917.
919	Male	"	11	(Lighterman)	O f <sup>1</sup>	24	Father died in 1886. Two boys admitted to schools 6 months later. Mother and eldest daughter support other four.	...
920	Male	"	14	(Engineer)	(Incapacity) I u <sup>1</sup> .	1	Father out of work 13 weeks when lad was admitted. Home dirty and wretched.	...
921	"	"	15	(Labourer)	I u <sup>1</sup>	10	Deaf mute. Father got him admitted in 1879. Paid 1s. a week. Lost situation in 1884, and family became chargeable.	Parents, U <sup>1</sup> a.
(922 923 924 925)	" " " Female	" " " Single	14 12 10 18	(Dock Labourer) " " "	I <sup>1</sup> f <sup>1</sup> I <sup>1</sup> f <sup>1</sup> I <sup>1</sup> f <sup>1</sup> O <sup>1</sup> x	4½ 4½ 4½ 14	Father became blind in 1884, and these three brothers were admitted to the schools. He hawks matches now. Was in the workhouse with another child in 1886.	Cousin, No. 925. Grandfather, S.
(926 927)	Male "	Child "	13 10	(Captain of Tugboat) "	O <sup>1</sup> i <sup>2</sup> O <sup>1</sup> i <sup>2</sup>	14 14	Admitted to schools after father's death. An accident there caused curvature of the spine.	Cousin, Nos. 922-24.
							Father died in 1884. Collection (£45) was made for widow. She bought mangle and sewing-machine. Had parted with the latter when these brothers were admitted (1888). Two brothers at work.	...

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Charge- able.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
928	Female	"	9	(Labourer)	U <sup>1</sup> i	2½	Deaf and dumb. Father's work irregular when girl entered.	Grandparents, Z t. Uncle, S. Uncle, S.
(929 930)	Male Female	" "	11 9	... "	O <sup>1</sup> u <sup>2</sup> O <sup>1</sup> u <sup>2</sup>	8 m 8 m	Father died in July 1888; a fortnight later these children were admitted. Mother and two elder children make camp-stools.	...
(931 932)	Male Female	" "	11 9	(Bootmaker) "	T o <sup>1</sup> (e) T o <sup>1</sup> (e)	2 2	Father died in 1884 after a four years' illness. In business for 32 years, but trade declines. Widow practically penniless at his death. She kept children until 1887, when she got a situation as barmaid. Good character.	Sister, S.
(933 934 935)	Male Female "	" " "	10 6 4	(Shoemaker) " "	O <sup>1</sup> t f <sup>1</sup> O <sup>1</sup> t f <sup>1</sup> O <sup>1</sup> t f <sup>1</sup>	1 1 1	Father died in 1886. Had been ill for 7 months. He had failed in business. Widow had work at a school, and with help of three elder children kept family until 1888. Her work failed then, and children were admitted. Woman sober and industrious.	...
936	Male	"	14	(Seaman)	(Desertion) A d <sup>1</sup>	6	Father deserted his ship in 1881. Mother had three children admitted to schools in 1883, and went to service.	Grandmother, Z.
937	"	"	14	...	A d <sup>1</sup> u <sup>1</sup>	7½	Father went to South Africa leaving this boy and his brother with a woman. Promised to pay 10s. a week, but did not. They were admitted 5 weeks later.	...
938	"	"	15	..	A v <sup>2</sup> h	15	Mother left a widow with four children. This illegitimate lad was born in workhouse. Mother became insane and would not marry her. Recovering, she deserted the five.	Half-brothers and sisters (4), O <sup>1</sup> v <sup>2</sup>
939	Female	"	14	...	A v <sup>1</sup> d <sup>1</sup>	6	Mother dead. Father left this girl with a woman he had lived with, and she brought her to R. O.	Brothers (2), D <sup>1</sup> c. <sup>1</sup>
940	"	"	14	...	A v <sup>1</sup> d <sup>1</sup>	11	Family were chargeable before 1877. Mother died in 1878. Father sent to prison same year, and four children admitted.	Grandmother had relief.
941	"	"	12	...	A <sup>1</sup> v <sup>3</sup>	11	Mother and two illegitimate children admitted in 1878. Child was farmed to a woman, who had medicine for her in 1883. Admitted in 1884.	Mother, V.
(942 943 944 945 946)	Male " Female " "	" " " " "	4 7 9 10 14	... " " " "	A <sup>1</sup> o <sup>2</sup> A <sup>1</sup> o <sup>2</sup> A <sup>1</sup> o <sup>2</sup> A <sup>1</sup> o <sup>2</sup> A <sup>1</sup> o <sup>2</sup>	8 m 8 m 8 m 8 m 13	Mother dead. Father deserted children. They are passed from Mile End. Father gained a settlement while at Dr. Barnardo's Homes, where he was apprenticed as a shoemaker.	Brothers, Nos. 942, 943.
							Mother died when girl was an infant. Her father deserted her soon after.	...

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
947	(Schools) Female	Child	7	...	(Desertion A) (Mental Disorder)	4 m + 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	Deserted by mother. Passed from Poplar.	...
948	Male	"	12	(Dock Labourer)	M <sup>1</sup>	6	Man had not worked for 7 weeks when he was sent to an asylum. Dock Company and Foresters each allowed 1s. a week. Three months later this lad and his sister were admitted to the schools.	Father, No. 949.
949	" (In Asylum)	Married Child	56	"	M (e)	6	Father, "quer" for 5 years, was sent to an asylum in 1829, and this lad and another admitted to schools.	...
950	"	"	12	"	M <sup>1</sup>	7	Father was sent to asylum 8 weeks after his discharge from London Hospital, and two children admitted to schools. Man recovered, but had a relapse in 1886. The three have been chargeable since.	Brother, No. 1032. Wife, No. 1031.
951	" Female	"	12	(Carman)	M <sup>1</sup>	6	Employers discharged father as another man was afraid to work with him. He was sent to an asylum, and the two brothers admitted. Mother supports youngest girl.	Brother, M.
952	Male	"	10	"	M <sup>1</sup>	6	Father died in 1886. Mother was sent to an asylum soon after, and one girl admitted to schools.	Daughters, Nos. 957, 958.
953	" (In Asylum)	Married Child	34	Carman	M (e)	6	Widow was cured in 3 months, but drink caused a relapse. Re-admitted with the other child.	Brothers, Nos. 960-62. Grandfather, Z (f)
954	"	"	12	"	M <sup>1</sup>	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	Mother died. Father and children became chargeable at Camberwell and were passed to Stepney in 1884. Two years later man took his discharge, and not getting a situation, committed suicide.	...
955	"	"	11	"	M <sup>1</sup>	3	Children passed from West Ham.	...
956	" (In Asylum)	Married Child	35	"	M <sup>1</sup> (d?)	3	Mother died (1881) in Sick Asylum, leaving 5 children. Father, almost imbecile, sent to asylum, and died there in 1884. Grandmother brings these children two months later. Two others had died. Admitted when father entered asylum, where he died. Taken out two years after by mother. Re-admitted at her death.	...
957	Female	"	14	"	O <sup>1</sup> m <sup>2</sup> d <sup>2</sup>	2	Father died at Enfield. Widow and children were passed from Edmonton in 1885. She cannot earn	...
958	"	"	10	"	O <sup>1</sup> m <sup>2</sup> d <sup>2</sup>	1 $\frac{1}{2}$		
959	" (In Asylum)	Widow Child	42	"	M d	2		
960	Male	"	8	"	O <sup>2</sup> m <sup>1</sup>	5		
961	"	"	11	"	O <sup>2</sup> m <sup>1</sup>	5		
962	"	"	10	"	O <sup>2</sup> m <sup>1</sup>	5		
963	Female	"	9	"	O <sup>2</sup> m <sup>1</sup>	5		
964	"	"	13	"	O <sup>2</sup> m <sup>1</sup>	5		
965	Male	"	11	"	O <sup>2</sup> m <sup>1</sup>	5		
966	"	"	11	"	O <sup>2</sup> m <sup>1</sup>	7		
967	"	"	10	"	O <sup>1</sup> m <sup>2</sup>	4		
968	"	"	8	"	O <sup>1</sup> m <sup>2</sup>	4		

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
969	Female	Widow	6	...	O <sup>1</sup> m <sup>2</sup> W m	4	her living, or take proper care of the children. Two months later she was removed to an asylum.	Children, Nos. 967-69.
970	" (In Asylum)	Child	36	Servant	O <sup>1</sup> m <sup>3</sup> O <sup>1</sup> m <sup>3</sup> O <sup>1</sup> m <sup>3</sup> (Age)	4 9 m 9 m 9 m	Father died in 1887. Worked at oil mills for 20 years. Mother weak-minded. Used to turn children out at 7 A.M. to get their living as they could. They were admitted 8 months after father's death.	Brothers, Nos. 971, 972.
971	Male	"	12	"	Z <sup>1</sup> o	8	Admitted in 1881 with her father and sister. Family had relief since 1879. Father dead now.	...
972	Female	"	7	"				...
973	"	"	14	"				...
974	"	"		"				...
OUT-RELIEF.								
WEEKLY ALLOWANCES.								
975	Female	Widow	82	Nurse and Needlework	(Age) Z h	21	Husband, a sailor, died at sea (1850). Had 2s. 6d. a week from 1808 to 1873. Has 4s. 6d. a week now. Mother had relief for 20 years.	Late Mother, Z.
976	"	"	73	Washing and Needlework	Z t s <sup>2</sup>	12	This woman and her husband were allowed 7s. 6d. a week in 1877. Man died in 1886, and allowance was reduced to 4s. a week.	Grandson, No. 704.
977	"	"	84	Needlewoman	Z w t	21	Husband died in 1851. Widow allowed 3s. a week in 1868; increased to 4s. 6d. when woman's earnings declined to 1s. 6d. a week.	Daughter, D. s. Stepson's daughter, No. 769.
978	"	"	83	"	Z w	14	Was having 4s. 6d. a week in 1880; increased to 6s. 6d. in 1883. Does not earn anything, and cannot keep room clean.	Brother, Z p.
979	"	"	89	"	Z w	25	Had relief since 1864. Sons helped in 1880. Had 4s. 6d. a week in 1883; increased to 7s. in 1888.	G'ddaughter, D <sup>1</sup> L <sup>1</sup>
980	"	"	87	Needlewoman	Z w	25	Husband (boatswain) died in 1864. Widow earns 1s. a week, and has 5s. a week relief.	(Nephew, D s u. Nephew, C. Nephew's d'ght'r, V p. Nephew's widow, S w.)
981	"	"	79	"	Z w	14	Lives with daughter. Had 3s. 6d. a week since 1875; increased to 4s. 6d. in 1886. Earned 2s. a week.	Daughter, M.
982	"	"	82	"	Z w	23	Had relief since 1866; 4s. 6d. weekly in 1883; 6s. until March 1889. Died in Sick Asylum, April 1889.	...

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
983	(Weekly Female)	Allowances Widow	76	...	(Age) Z n	contd. 10	Had 3s. 6d. a week in 1879. Husband died in 1885. Relief was increased to 5s., and finally to 6s. a week. Died in March 1889.	...
984	"	Single	83	"	n Z	21	Came to London in 1838. Kept a shop 15 years. Gave it up through losses. Applied in 1868. Has 4s. 6d. relief, and earns 2s. 6d. weekly.	...
985	"	Widow	81	Hawker of Toys	Z	12	Could not earn more than 2s. 6d. a week when she applied. 4s. a week is given, and a friend adds 1s. a week.	...
986	"	"	81	Needle-woman	Z	23	Had relief since 1866. Husband died in 1868. 4s. a week.	...
987	"	"	78	...	Z	14+	Had relief during man's life. Allowed 3s. 6d. a week after his death; increased to 4s. 6d. a week in 1885. Earned from 2s. 6d. to 3s. a week.	...
988	"	"	78	Washing	(Sickness) S z w	18	Husband worked 25 years for a coal merchant. Had 5s. a week pension. Guardians supplement this with 3s. a week. Man dies; pension is stopped, and relief continued.	...
989	"	"	86	Knitting	(Loss of Husband) W z	18	Husband, a smith, died in 1871. Club supported him for 6 years. Guardians allow 2s. 6d. weekly; increased to 4s. in 1884.	...
990	"	"	75	...	W s	21	Lives with daughter. Sight is bad; cannot earn anything. Has a pension, 11s. per quarter. Relief 3s. weekly.	Daughter's family, S u.
991	Male	Married	53	...	(Incapacity) I	23	Blind. When relief (4s.) commenced, children were dependent. Wife has a mangle. Relief 3s. a week.	...
992	(MEDICAL & OTHER) Female	Married	25	OUT-RELIEF	(Crime) C i	2	Husband in prison. Woman crippled whilst quarrelling with a woman. Been in workhouse. Died April 1888.	Illeg. Son, V <sup>2</sup> o.

993	"	Single	29	Prostitute	(Vice) V	6	Lived in a brothel. Had stillborn child buried in April 1888, and went in Sick Asylum. Died October 1888.	...
994	"	Widow	58	Watercress-seller	V d	12	"Bad mother of a bad family." Drunken and abusive. In Sick Asylum in June 1888. Two sons been in prison.	Daughter, V d h.
995	"	Married	38	Match Factory	V d s	12	Separated from husband in 1875; went to mother's. Ill continuously since 1886. Medicines for self and children.	Mother W d. Uncle, No. 110.
996	"	"	46	Trouser finisher	V h	1	Left husband; lives with a man, who is lazy and drunken. Parish buried their dead infant in May 1888.	Mother, No. 647. Brother-in-law, S p. Father, S f.
997	"	Single	26	Servant	V s	1	Had an illegitimate child born in the workhouse. It died in June 1888; was buried by the Guardians.	Sons, Nos. 887, 888.
998	"	Widow	38	Washing	V w d	9	Had medicines for children in 1880. Husband died in 1886. In February 1889 Guardians buried her illegitimate infant.	Late husband, S d. Mother, A d v. Cousins, Nos. 887, 888. Paramour, S d.
999	"	Single	30	Tarpaulin-maker	V h	4 m	Lived with a coal porter. Left him, and subsequently has medical attendance for his child.	Child, No. 1001.
1000	Male	Married	46	Boiler-maker	V s u	9 m	Man lived with the mother of this girl. Had relief when child was sick, and he was out of work. Subsequently left the woman. Child died in October 1888; buried by the Guardians.	Mother, V s.
1001	Female	Child	3	...	V s u <sup>1</sup>	3 m		...
1002	"	Single	23	Rag-sorter	V s	3	Admitted to workhouse with an illegitimate child. Suffering from syphilis. Has medicines in January 1889.	(Late Husband, S d. Husband's cousin, No. 26. Nephew, S d. Children, Nos. 898-901. Children, S o.
1003	"	Widow	52	Charing	(Loss of Husband) W d	1	Husband died, and son supported her after. Has medicines; is given to drink.	
1004	"	"	41	...	W d	3	Husband died (1888). Four children admitted. Drinks and neglects home. Has medical aid.	
1005	"	"	52	Bottlewasher	W d s	7	Had medicines in 1882; some children sent to schools. Drinks. Was ill in 1886. Daughter dies in October 1888, and is buried by Guardians.	
1006	"	"	48	...	W d p	7	Husband died in 1880; widow got three youngest children into the schools. Home dirty. A "dirty, miserable drunkard."	Nephew, No. 894. Children, Nos. 19-21. Husband's uncle, No. 18. Children, Nos. 429, 430.
1007	"	"	36	Washing	W f	5	Had medicines for children during husband's life. He died at Poplar, and that Union took 3 of her children. Has medicines.	

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
1008	Female	Widow	48	(Loss Mangling)	of Husband W u s	contd. 2	Husband, a rigger, died in Sick Asylum 1886. Widow supports children until her health fails. Has medicines.	Parents, S z. Sons, Nos. 850, 851.
1009	"	"	42	Washing	W s p	7	Husband died in 1882 and this son had scarlet fever about same time. He recovers and supports his mother, who is often ill. He also has medical relief.	Daughters, Nos. 861, 862. Mother, No. 1009.
1010	Male	Single	20	At Pickle Works	S h	7	Father died in 1882, and woman had out-relief. Two boys admitted to schools when she comes to Stepmey. Honest and sober. Has medical attendance.	Son, No. 791.
1011	Female	Widow	44	Washing	W s	7	Husband died in 1882. Woman is subject to fits, and has had medicines frequently since 1882.	Son, No. 801. Aunt, S w. Child, A d. <sup>3</sup> Mother, No. 758.
1012	Female	Widow	53	Nurse and Mangler	W s	7	Husband left her in May 1888 through drink. Went into West Ham Workhouse with 4 children. Left 3 of them there and came to Stepmey. Has medicines.	{ Aunt, No. 434. Brother-in-law, No. 547. Children (3), S. { Wife's mother, No. 177. Brothers, 1016, 1017. Child, S. Mother, No. 1018.
1013	"	Deserted	35	Nurse	A d s	3 m	Lives with son and 2 daughters in one room. Usually applies for her children. Has medicines.	Wife's father, S.
1014	"	Married	49	Leadworker	A s	1	Wife has medicines for baby. Decent, sober people.	Mother, No. 1019. Sons, Nos. 1015-17.
1015	Male	"	25	General Labourer	(Trade Misfortunes) U h	6 m	Lost situation in 1881; casual worker since. Wife and children have medicines.	{ Son-in-law, No. 67. Son-in-law, S h. Granddaughter, S h. Mother, No. 1019. Sister, S d h.
1016	"	"	27	Carman	U h	8	Man's mother (No. 1018) first obtained relief for his wife. Man and children have had medicines since.	
1017	"	"	30	"	U d s	6 m	Husband injured his knee-cap. Kept a horse-trough afterwards until his death (1882). Family have medicines.	
1018	Female	Widow	52	Tailoress	X h s	12	Lives with a daughter. Has frequent medical relief. Is in a burial club.	
1019	"	"	89	Needle-woman	Z p s	6	Husband died in Greenwich Hospital. Widow and children have medicines.	
1020	"	"	45	Tailoress	S w	6		

1021	Male	Married	43	Check Clerk and Wharf Labourer	U e d	1 m	Earned 28s. a week for 20 years. Discharged through slack trade. Had medicines 5 months later — pleurisy. Drinks. No club.	Brother-in-law, No. 1047.
1022	"	"	44	Dock Labourer	U f	8	Family lived in one room—very bare. Man's work irregular. One child sent to Smallpox Hospital in 1881. One buried in 1887, and another in 1888. Several applications for medicine.	Father, No. 108.
1023	Female	"	37	"	S u f	1	Out of work; wife in hospital. Medicines obtained for sick child. Guardians buried a baby in 1888.	Father, No. 592.
1024	Male	"	43	Hammerman	U s	2	Man was earning about 9s. a week when a child died. Guardians buried it. Wife often ill.	Mother-in-law, No. 639.
1025	"	"	40	Blockmaker	U s	4	Work only casual. Wife aged 22. Child born and died in March 1889; buried by Guardians. Wife had a child buried before her marriage.	Wife, S u. <sup>1</sup> Grandfather, No. 568.
1026	"	"	18	Firewood-cutter	(Early Marriage) G u	6 w	Blind for 22 years. Asked for out-relief in 1881. Used to drink. Has continuous medical relief.	Mother, V s. <sup>3</sup> ... ...
1027	"	"	64	Blacksmith	(Incapacity) I d	3	Ill since June 1887. Continuous medical relief.	...
1028	Female	"	63	Washing	S	2	Drowned in Thames. Identified by ship's captain. Buried by Guardians. No particulars.	...
1029	Male	(?)	(?)	Ship's Fireman	(Accident) X	...	Was in Sick Asylum in 1882 and again in 1888. Has had medical attendance since.	Husband, No. 532.
1030	Female	Married	69	Shirt-finisher	(Mental Disorder) M u <sup>1</sup>	7	Husband in Lunatic Asylum. Woman supports herself and her youngest child. Both have medicines.	Husband, No. 953.
1031	"	"	41	Washing	M <sup>1</sup> s (e)	1	Had medicines for gonorrhoea in 1887. Drinks and ill-treats wife. She obtains medicines for child.	Brother, No. 951.
1032	Male	Child	5	"	M <sup>1</sup> s	1	Has had medicines for children frequently. Lost regular work because he would not go early in the morning. Baby dies, and is buried by Guardians, June 1888.	Wife, S <sup>1</sup> d. <sup>1</sup> Sister, S.
1033	"	Married	27	Carman	(Laziness) L d v	2	Mother says girl is stupid and lazy. Was in a home 3 months before admission to workhouse. Never keeps a situation. Has medicines.	Grandmother, Z (P). Brother, No. 817.
1034	"	"	47	Waterside Labourer	L d s <sup>3</sup>	5		
1035	Female	Single	19	Servant	L q s	3		

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
1036	Male	Married	23	Carpenter's Labourer	(Laziness) L s <sup>3</sup>	3 m	"A lazy scamp." Wife obtains medicines for child. Says man will not work.	Wife's aunt, No. 3. Late father, Z (1).
1037	Female	Widow	73	Mangle	(Imprudence) E w s	7	Husband had medicines from 1879 until his death in 1882. Woman has an ulcerated leg and has had medical aid frequently since.	Stepson, L v h. Brother, No. 766.
1038	Male	Married	63	Lighterman	(Old Age) Z d	1 m	Has medicines; becoming worse, relief in kind is given. "Sober, honest, and industrious."	Wife, No. 874. Grandson, No. 873. Daughter-in-law, S.
{ 1039	"	"	82	Dock	n Z	3	Children supported this couple for 6 years before application. Man does not have much help, but wife has chronic illness. Dr. Barnardo gives a weekly dole.	Son-in-law, No. 606.
{ 1040	Female	"	80	Labourer	n Z	7	Man is always out of work when medicines are obtained.	Daughter, S v.
{ 1041	"	"	57	(Labourer)	U s	11	Been in Sick Asylum twice. Wife died while he was there. Goes to son's to stop.	Parents, Nos. 1039-40.
1042	Male	Widow	68	Wood-chopper	Z p	2	Man and wife drunken and immoral. He has been in prison several times for neglecting family. Frequently relieved indoor and out.	{ Brother, Z t s. Daughter, Y d. 1. Brother-in-law, No. 112. Nephew, No. 1049. Nephew's wife, No. 1060.
1043	"	Married	33	Coal tank filler	(Drunk) D v h	10	Prostitute and drunkard. Lives with a labourer. Brought up by uncle.	Children, Nos. 23-24. Mother-in-law, P d.
1044	Female	Single	32	Leadworker	D v h e	2+	In 1878, this woman left her children 14 days without food and went to keep house for 2 men. Similar complaint in 1879. Been in workhouse and had medicine.	{ Uncle, S d. Uncle, No. 235. Paramour, S v.
1045	"	Widow	55	Mangle	D v w	11	In Sick Asylum in 1888 with rheumatic gout and syphilis. Had medicines since.	Son, No. 308. Daughter, V. Daughter, S d.
1046	Male	Single	31	Bricklayer's Labourer	D v	1	Has had food and medicines for wife several times. On last occasion woman was suffering from his illness.	Uncle, No. 424. Parents, D s.
1047	"	Married	32	Carman and Corn Porter	D c h	3	Drunkard. Has rheumatic gout. Been in Sick Asylum and workhouse.	{ Parents, Nos. 105, 106. Brother-in-law, No. 1021. Father-in-law, Z.
{ 1048	"	"	63	General Labourer	D l	12		Wife's aunt, No. 161. Son-in-law, No. 1049.

1049	"	"	30	...	S d	5	Son sent to Smallpox Hospital in 1884. Man has medicines in 1888. Wife applies.	Uncle, No. 1042.
1050	Female	"	31	(Dock Labourer)	S s d u <sup>1</sup>	1½	Obtains medicines for self and children. Husband out of work.	Brother-in-law, No. 1049.
1051	"	"	55	Canvas-work	S u <sup>1</sup>	2	Husband had not worked for 21 months, when woman obtained medicines. Sons help.	{ Son, S u. Daughter, No. 1050. Brother's Paramour, No. 231.
1052	Male	Married	37	Bricklayer's Labourer	D h s	7	Medicines often obtained for children. One child buried by Guardians. Man and wife drunk.	{ Sister, S h. Mother, No. 406. Brother, L h d. Father-in-law, No. 186.
1053	"	"	33	Labourer	D h s	5	First application by mother. Wife died suddenly in 1886. Has rheumatic gout.	{ Mother, No. 86. Brother, No. 87.
{ 1054	"	"	26	Bricklayer's Labourer	D g h	6	Wife obtained medicines for children in 1883; had a black eye through husband's brutality. He becomes an abstainer in 1886. In 1887 woman was injured while fighting with a cousin, and taken to Sick Asylum. Woman and child have medicines in December 1888.	{ Parents, Nos. 41, 42. Grandmother, W. Brother, D l.
{ 1055	Female	"	27	...	D g s	6		{ Parents, D s w.
{ 1056	Male	Child	3	...	S d <sup>1</sup> h	3		{ Father, No. 1054.
1057	"	Married	47	Dock Labourer	D p	5	Rheumatic gout caused by drink. Often had medicines since 1884. Wife keeps family.	Son, No. 707.
{ 1058	"	"	40	"	D p s <sup>3</sup>	3	Woman and her children entered workhouse in 1883. She married this man in 1886. Frequent applications for medicines for the woman and children.	Sister-in-law, No. 711.
{ 1059	Female	"	39	Rag-sorter	D p s	10	Her son was in the Fever Hospital in 1887. Home dirty. Parents drink. A rough lot.	Mother, No. 1059.
{ 1060	Male	Single	18	Factory-hand	S d <sup>3</sup> h	6	This woman and her husband are drunken disreputable tramps. He left her in 1888. She asked for medicines for two of the children. One died in August and was buried by the Guardians.	Brother, S d <sup>3</sup> h.
{ 1061	Female	Married	35	...	D s l r	8		...
{ 1062	Male	Child	3	...	D s l r	1+		
{ 1063	"	"	9	...	D s l r	1+		
{ 1064	"	Married	52	Dock Labourer	D u h	12	Frequent medical relief for all the family. Man comes home drunk at midday.	{ Father-in-law, No. 140. Brother, No. 141. Wife's niece, A v.
{ 1065	Female	"	23	Rope works	A h	1	Husband at sea. Had medical relief.	Father, No. 1064.
1066	Male	"	52	Painter	D u s <sup>3</sup>	5	Drinks heavily. Was in Sick Asylum in 1884. Had medicines for boy 6 times in 1888; out of work on 4 occasions.	Uncle, Q s. Nephew, No. 739.
1067	Female	Widow	41	Fish Hawker	D s e	9	Frequent applications for this family since 1880. Husband died in 1880. Great drinker—"keeps street alive."	{ Father, No. 194. Children, Nos. 883, 884. Sister, D. Brother, C. Br-th's child (S. C.)

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
1068	Male	Married	45	Ship's Steward	(Drink) D <sup>2</sup> s <sup>2</sup>	5	Coloured man. Wife, a drunkard, asked for medicines for him in 1884. Child dies suddenly, and is buried by Guardians. Steady man.	...
1069	"	Single	39	...	(Heredit) H i x	32	Born in Wapping Workhouse. Became blind at age of 13. Came out of workhouse for 7 years when 27 years old. Went on tramp selling tapes, etc.	Aunt, V. Cousin, S h. Cousin, V <sup>2</sup> Wife, V d h. Sister, S v n. Cousin, No. 383. Brother-in-law, Es h. Sister-in-law, S v h.
1070	"	Married	34	Dock Labourer	(Sickness) S d v h	12	Lived in common lodging-house with a woman since 1877. Now married. Frequent medical relief for children.	Husband, No. 10. (Children, Nos 11-13. (Brothers, Nos 844-5. (Grandmother, S z. (Aunt, S. Husband, No. 43.
1071	Female	Single	44	Charing Needlework	S d S d <sup>1</sup>	1 1 m	A drunkard. Lives with niece, who keeps her. Had medical attendance in May 1888. Died in the following month.	Husband, No. 10. (Children, Nos 11-13. (Brothers, Nos 844-5. (Grandmother, S z. (Aunt, S. Husband, No. 43.
1072	"	Married	61	...	S d <sup>3</sup>	2	Mother obtains medicines for this child.	Husband, No. 43.
1073	"	Child	2	...	S d <sup>3</sup>	2	Husband in workhouse. Woman kept the shop. Drinks. Went to live with daughter after home was sold.	(Mother, S p. Mother-in-law, No. 1074. (Sister, S v <sup>1</sup> Sister-in-law, No. 1075. Daughter, No. 205.
1074	"	Married	61	Rag-sorter	S d	2	Had medicines while husband was at sea; also after his death in 1888.	Daughter, No. 1080.
1075	"	Widow	26	Factory-hand	S h w	4	Fell down hold of ship and broke his arms. Has had medicines since for wife and children.	Daughter, No. 1080.
1076	Male	Married	40	Stevenson's Labourer	X s	9	Applied after wife's lying-in; been out of work 14 days. Relieved for a month. Woman enters workhouse, and man moves away. Great drunkards.	Daughter, No. 1080.
1077	"	Widow	50	Dock Labourer	S <sup>2</sup> d <sup>3</sup>	3 m	Man entered Sick Asylum; unable to work for 7 weeks. Treats his wife badly and drinks. She tries to get him admitted again when he is suffering from the effects of drink, but he will not go. He died in 1888. Mother and girl have medical relief.	Daughter, No. 1080.
1078	"	Married	37	General Labourer	S d p	2	Has medical relief. Children support her. Husband often in workhouse.	Daughter, No. 1080.
1079	Female	"	34	At Jam Factory	S d <sup>1</sup> p	9 m		Daughter, No. 1080.
1080	"	Child	5	...	S d <sup>1</sup> p	9 m		Daughter, No. 1080.
1081	"	Married	64	...	S d <sup>1</sup> e	8		Daughter, No. 1080.

1082	"	"	43	...	S d <sup>1</sup> u <sup>1</sup>	1	Was ill in July 1888 and had out-relief.	(Husband, D s u. (Son, S d h. (Daughter-in-law, S e <sup>1</sup> (Children, Nos 1084-6. (Grandfather, No. 231. (Uncles (2), S l.
1083	Male	"	31	Dock Labourer	S d u	4	Man drinks and seldom works. Wife applies for medicines for the children. On two occasions she had a black eye caused by husband. She works at fruit warehouse occasionally.	Wife, No. 690.
1084	Female	Child	5	...	S d <sup>1</sup> u <sup>1</sup>	4	Had medicines in January 1889; died in April. Kept a bottle of gin under his pillow.	(Mother, No. 439. (Sister, S <sup>3</sup> u. (Brother-in-law, No. 1088. (Sister, No. 438. (Brother, No. 1088. (Paramour, No. 1092.
1085	"	"	1	...	S d <sup>1</sup> u <sup>1</sup>	4	Frequent applications for medicines for wife and children. C. O. S. will not help—bad character.	Mother, No. 1090.
1086	"	Married	68	Dock Labourer	S d z	4 m	Husband's work always irregular. Children dead. Has medicines.	Daughter, No. 1091.
1087	Male	"	39	Tankmaker	S <sup>3</sup> h d	10	Admitted to workhouse in 1879. Had rheumatism in 1884, and from 1886 to 1889 continuously. Has medicines.	Mother, No. 118.
1088	"	"	33	Factory-hand	S u <sup>1</sup> h	1	Her mother applied for medicines. Husband earns 15s. a week. "A wretched lot."	Mother, No. 1094.
1089	Female	"	45	...	S h v	10	Lived with No. 1090. Had not worked for 2 weeks when he had medicines. Died soon after.	Father-in-law, No. 40. Husband, D h.
1090	"	Single	21	Factory-hand	S h	3 m	This family and the man's parents lived in one room for some time. Wife came from Ireland in 1875. Have had medicines frequently. Three children have died. Two eldest are in truant school for begging. Husband in Sick Asylum. Has medicines while he is there.	Father, No. 167.
1091	"	Married	56	Dock Labourer	S v	4 d	Lives with parents. Eighteen applications for medicines from February 1878 to March 1889, usually by mother.	Father, No. 1112.
1092	Male	"	34	Ballast-heaver	S p	4	Earns 5s. a week at Bryant and May's. Mother applies for medicines.	...
1093	"	Married	32	Tailor	S p	9	Sister of No. 1098. Has medicines.	(Aunt, No. 1101. (Mother, S w. (Mother, No. 130. (Brother-in-law, No. 129.
1094	Female	Child	1	...	S p	1	Brought by mother for medical attendance. Refused to go into Sick Asylum.	Mother, No. 426.
1095	"	"	28	Rag-sorter	S h	6 m	Has medicines. Is supported by children.	
1096	"	Married	1	...	S w	2	Woman's mother usually applies for children's medicines. One has died.	
1097	Male	Single	1	Labourer at Sawmill	S h	11		
1098	Female	"	17	Match Factory	S h	1		
1099	"	"	20	"	S h	1		
1100	"	"	19	Servant	S h	1		
1101	"	Widow	57	...	S w	2		
1102	"	"	33	Hammock Maker	S h	11		



No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Chargeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
1103	Female	Single	21	Servant	(Sickness) S h	9 m	Asked for medical relief. Unable to work.	{ Sister, No. 802. Sister, S.
1104	"	Child	6	(Street Musician)	S h	9 m	Mother obtained medicines for her.	Mother, No. 222.
{ 1105	Male	Married	49	Coal Work	S <sup>3</sup> h u	8	Man was working irregularly in 1890 when first application was made. Frequently relieved since. Like medicine apparently.	Mother, No. 567. Sister, S.
{ 1106	Female	"	46	"	S h	9	Since 1884 woman and her children have frequently had medicine. Two children die in 1887.	Parents, Nos. 1105-6.
{ 1107	"	Child	8	"	S h	8	Has medical attendance for bad foot. Mates paid fare from Stroud, where he had been working.	Mother, No. 567.
{ 1108	"	Married	34	(General Labourer)	S h	5	Epileptic. Sickly from birth. Been in workhouse. Has frequent medical relief.	Mother-in-law, No. 579.
{ 1109	Male	Married	51	(?)	S p r	5 m	Lived 10 years at common lodging-house. Been in Sick Asylum twice with bronchitis. Has medicines.	Stepfather, No. 1109. Grandmother, No. 579.
{ 1110	"	Single	21	"	S h	11	Frequent applications for medicine. Irregular work.	Daughters, Nos. 1098-9.
1111	"	"	26	General Labourer	S p e	2	Had medicines in 1882; as had wife and children in subsequent years. Wife helped at confinement in April 1888. Child died in December, and was buried by Guardians.	Father, Z.
1112	"	Married	44	Ballast-worker	S <sup>3</sup> p u	11	Had medicines for illness caused by injury; also for children.	{ Aunt, No. 272. Uncle, No. 528. Brother, S e. Mother, S w. ...
{ 1113	"	"	41	General Labourer	S p u	7	Worked for 28 years at 23s. a week. Made odd man a month before. He asked to have wife buried. Relief granted as loan.	Brother, No. 206. Wife's father, S.
{ 1114	Female	"	34	"	S p u	3	Been in Sick Asylum twice before 1879 with rheumatic gout. Frequently has relief for family.	Father, No. 1117.
1115	Male	"	49	Coal-whipper	S e h	2	Lived in a room at husband's father's. Had medicines. Husband out of work for 7 weeks; has gone to Australia.	Father-in-law, No. 1117.
1116	"	Widow'r	64	Odd man at Regent's Canal	S e u	3 m		
{ 1117	"	Married	49	Lighterman & Labourer	S f h	10+		
{ 1118	Female	Single	17	Leadworker	S h	5+		
{ 1119	"	Married	22	(Holder-up)	S u <sup>2</sup> h	1		

{ 1120	"	"	39	...	S f u <sup>1</sup>	9 m	Man asked for doctor to attend wife. She had twins; one died before doctor came, and the second when 14 days old. Guardians buried them.	...
{ 1121	Male	"	40	Dock Labourer	S <sup>3</sup> f u	9 m		
1122	Female	Widow	47	Charing	S e <sup>3</sup> w	3	Husband, a traveller, was ill 3 months in 1886. Died in Sick Asylum. One boy taken by Dr. Barnardo, and 2 enter the schools. Widow has medicine.	Children, Nos. 857, 858.
1123	Male	Child	3	"	S f <sup>1</sup>	3	Father blind. Mother applies for medicines occasionally. Does washing.	Brothers, Nos. 922-4.
1124	Female	Widow	58	Needle-woman	S i z w	11	Lived with son and daughter. Frequent medical relief from 1878 to 1889.	Son, S.
1125	Male	Widow'r	58	Dock Labourer	S u p	8	Casual work. Has had medicines for wife and family since 1881. Children gradually get work. Man has medical aid in January 1889.	Sister, No. 1183.
1126	"	Married	44	Bricklayer's Labourer	S u p	8	Is consumptive; has been in Sick Asylum several times. Wife kept home. Three children in schools.	Wife, No. 139. Children, Nos. 135-8.
1127	"	"	68	General Labourer	S u p	9	Wife has medicines for son and herself. Man has medical aid in 1889. No work.	Cousin, No. 631.
1128	"	"	30	Dock Labourer	S u h	11	In Sick Asylum in 1878. Wife had medicines in 1888-89.	Father, No. 323. Wife's father, X.
{ 1129	"	"	28	"	S <sup>3</sup> u h	4+	Man was in Sick Asylum "many years ago." Applied for medicines for No. 1131-measles. He is out of work. Other children catch it 14 days later, and relief "in kind" is given.	Children, Nos. 1130-32.
{ 1130	"	Child	8	"	S u <sup>1</sup> h	3 m		{ Son, No. 1129. Nieces, Nos. 828, 831, and 219.
{ 1131	Female	"	5	"	S u <sup>1</sup> h	4 m		{ Nephews, Nos. 829-30.
{ 1132	"	"	3	"	S u <sup>1</sup> h	3 m		
{ 1133	"	Married	47	Laundress	S p e	3 m	Husband, a coal-whipper, had relief for first wife's child in 1877. Home poor. Sister asks for medicine for this woman.	Brother, V a. Wife's mother, S w. ...
1134	Male	"	34	Dry Cooper	S <sup>3</sup> u g	7 m	Child died in October 1888. Buried by Guardians. Irregular work for 2 months.	Child, No. 1187.
1135	"	"	27	Painter	S <sup>3</sup> u g	6 m	Out of work. Wife had medicines for child. She had twins in 1888. Both died; buried by Guardians.	
{ 1136	"	"	35	Dock Labourer	S <sup>3</sup> u g	4 m	Left home to look for work; been out 3 months. Wife asked for medicines for boy. Baby died same month, and is buried by Guardians. "Sober and persevering."	
{ 1137	"	Child	6	"	S u g	4 m		
1138	"	Married	27	Coal-whipper	S <sup>3</sup> u	2	Irregular work. Wife had medicines in 1887, and children have had it 4 times since.	Father, No. 578.

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Changeable.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
1139	Female	Single	29	Baby's Boot-maker	(Sickness) S u <sup>1</sup>	1	Lived with a man for 6 years. Their child died in hospital. Man out of work; Guardians bury body, 1888.	...
1140	Male	Married	44	Dock Labourer	S u	7	Man, wife, and children frequently had relief. Position improving as children get to work. Wife chills.	Father, No. 683.
1141	"	"	26	Boot-finisher	S u	1	Wife confined of still-born child. Nourishment supplied and child buried. "Father out of work for 4 months; "does not care.	...
1142	Female	Single	29	Servant	S u	1	In service (3s. a week) for three years. Left, and had medical attendance 5 weeks later.	...
1143	Male	Married	33	General Labourer	S u	8	Enters Sick Asylum and has medicine; as do the wife and daughter. Work irregular.	Wife's Uncle, No. 52.
1144	"	"	38	Jam Worker	S <sup>3</sup> u	6	Irregular work. Has medicines for children.	Sister, No. 1145.
1145	Female	"	43	(Dock) Labourer	S u <sup>1</sup>	11	Husband generally out of work. Frequent applications for medicine for children. Woman was ill in July 1888, and this lad in February 1889.	Niece, No. 800.
1146	Male	Child	11	(Dock) Labourer	S u <sup>1</sup>	...		Mother, No. 1145.
1147	Male	Married	39	General Labourer	S u (d)	9	Had relief for children in 1880; also at wife's lying-in, February 1889. Man decent, a teetotaler. Home clean.	Mother-in-law, No. 1149.
1148	"	"	63	Cooper and Agricultural Labourer	R p d	8	This couple tramp the country between 1881 and 1887. After man's illness they settle at Stepney. Woman's lungs are diseased. Both have medical attendance.	Son-in-law, No. 1147.
1149	Female	"	57	Washing	R p d	8	In December 1888 wife asked for medicine for child. Man had not worked since October. Medicines and relief in kind were given until February 1889, when child died. Guardians buried the body.	Son, No. 1151.
1150	Male	Child	49	Painter	S <sup>3</sup> u	4 m		
1151	"	"	3	...	S u <sup>1</sup>	4 m		
1152	"	Widow	62	Carman	S u <sup>1</sup>	3	Man's wife had medical aid in 1886-87. She died in May 1888, and was buried by Guardians. Man ill at the time; had medicines then and also in October.	...
1153	"	"	53	Dock Labourer	S u	2 m	Could not bury his wife. Owed doctor 7s. 6d. No work for 3 weeks.	...

1154	"	Married	33	Labourer at Brassfinishers	S u	2 m	Man out of work at wife's lying-in. Guardians supplied necessities. Said to be decent and sober. Left place through a quarrel with another workman.	...
1155	"	"	45	Dock Labourer	S <sup>3</sup> u	2	Wife obtains medicines for son. Man's earnings small.	...
1156	Female	Widow	66	Needlework	S w d	6 m	Husband had medicines in 1880. He died in St. George's Infirmary 1886. Widow has medicines. Earns about 4s. a week.	...
1157	"	"	33	Washing	S w h	2 m	Husband died in November 1888. Two months after, the widow had medicines, and two of her boys were sent to the schools. Baby was also ill and has medicines in January and February.	Sons, Nos. 892-93.
1158	"	Child	1	...	O <sup>1</sup> s	2 m		Mother, W d h.
1159	Male	Married	46	Boilermaker	S	2	Man entered Sick Asylum in November 1887, bronchitis. Had not worked for 11 months. Wife kept family; she had a baby in April 1888 (parish doctor attended). Child died in September 1888, and was buried by Guardians.	Mother, No. 1157.
1160	Female	"	34	Tailoress	S	1	Husband died in Sick Asylum in 1878; widow obtains medicines for herself and children.	{ Aunt, Sh. Nephews, Nos. 832-3.
1161	"	Widow	54	Mangle	S w p	9 m		Father, Z.
1162	"	Child	15	...	S o <sup>1</sup> p	9 m		Niece, No. 1158.
1163	"	Widow	68	Bag-maker	S w p	11	Had medicines for daughter in 1878. Husband died in Sick Asylum (1887); woman was in workhouse then. Lives with sons; has medicines.	Niece, No. 856.
1164	"	"	54	Dust-sifter	S w	1	Husband died 1874. Has medicines for bronchitis in February 1889. Entered Sick Asylum later.	Sister, S p.
1165	"	"	41	Leadworker	S w	3	Worked with her daughter at whitelead works. Has medicines. Son out of work.	Sister, No. 591.
1166	"	"	50	Laundress	S w	6 m	Attends dispensary. Boy earns 5s. a week.	Half-sister, No. 558
1167	"	"	61	...	S w	10	Husband died in 1877. Widow commuted a pension of 6s. a month in 1879. Has medicine at intervals. Sons support.	Mother, No. 512.
1168	"	"	59	Rag-sorter	S w	1	Husband died in workhouse (1877). Widow lives with a friend; sleeps on the floor. Has medicines.	{ Son, No. 81. Son, Sd.
1169	"	"	43	Tailoress	S w	3 m	Not earned much for 4 years through ill-health. Admitted with bronchitis in May 1888. Came out in July; had medicines, and died in August. Guardians bury her.	...
1170	"	"	58	Charing	S w	1 w	Had relief at Woolwich 1873-78. Re-married then. Husband died in Sick Asylum (1883). Had medicines in 1888; died, and was buried by Guardians.	...

No.	Sex.	Condition.	Age.	Occupation.	Cause of Pauperism.	Years Charge-able.	Story.	Known Pauper Relatives.
{ 1171	Female	Widow	35	Waitress	(Sick) S <sup>w</sup>	...	Husband died in 1887. Widow asked to have the sick child admitted (1888). Feared she would lose her place through stopping with it. Medicines given. Child died next day, and Guardians buried it.	...
{ 1172	Male	Child	7	...	S <sup>o</sup>	1 d	Mother died when child was a baby. Uncle kept it and obtains medicines.	Uncle, No. 374.
1173	"	"	67	Needlework	S <sup>o</sup>	3	Husband died in West Ham Infirmary. Widow applied in 1886, but not relieved. Found in a room at K—. Place very ill and filthy in 1888. Died next day, and buried by Guardians.	...
1174	Female	Widow	67	Needlework	S <sup>w</sup> z	...	Landlady obtained medicines for her. Not worked for a year. Died in August 1888. Buried by Union.	{ Brother, No. 283. Sister-in-law, 284.
1175	"	Single	58	Schoolmistress	S <sup>n</sup> u	1 m	Met with an accident at docks. In burial club.	Wife's uncle, No. 1176.
{ 1176	Male	Married	67	General Labourer	S <sup>x</sup> p	9	Frequently deserts wife and children. They often have medicines.	Uncle, No. 555.
{ 1177	"	"	36	Coal-whipper	D <sup>v</sup> h	11	Lost an arm in 1880 through the bite of a donkey. Frequent medical relief since. Hard-working.	Grandchild, No. 1180.
1178	Female	Single	67	Cat's-meat Dealer	S <sup>x</sup>	9	Had medical attendance; bad leg.	Brothers, Nos. 310-1.
{ 1179	Male	Widow'r	71	...	S	7 m	Mother got medicines for this child. Epileptic; came home from service in 1887, and had medicines. Has been in Sick Asylum.	Grandmother, W. z.
1180	Female	Child	1	...	C <sup>i</sup> s	1 m	Lives with married daughter. Has medical relief. Husband in workhouse.	Brothers, Nos. 880-1.
1181	"	Single	17	Servant	S	2	Lives with brother. Youngest son keeps her. Others married. Husband in West Ham Workhouse. Has medicines.	Husband, No. 636.
1182	"	Married	79	Helps daughter	S	1	Wife asked to have child buried. She had arranged for funeral to cost 25s. "Friendly lead" only realised 10s. She had paid ss. for coffin. Undertaker would not bury until he was paid.	Sister-in-law, M.
1183	"	"	57	...	S	3 m	Mother brought her to get a medical order. Given. Sick, died and was buried by Guardians.	Brother, No. 1125.
1184	Male	"	34	General Labourer	S <sup>3</sup>	9 m	Poisoned arm. Has medical attendance in March and July 1888. Was in workhouse in August for a short time.	...
1185	Female	Single	37	Servant	S <sup>m</sup>	1 m	An accident at wharf in 1885 incapacitated him for heavy work. Had medical relief in 1887 and 1888.	Son, No. 1188.
1186	Male	Married	70	Boot-repairer	S <sup>z</sup> d	1	Mother obtains medical relief for this lad in January 1889.	Mother, S. d.

{ 1187	"	"	51	Watchman	S <sup>x</sup> u	2	Has rheumatism; been in Sick Asylum several times. Daughter assists. Has medical relief.	Daughter, No. 1193
{ 1188	"	Single	17	Van-boy	S <sup>h</sup>	3 m	Often has medical relief. Sons send money occasionally.	Nephew, No. 166.
1189	Female	Widow	60	Bottle-washer	S <sup>z</sup> w	10	Husband gone to America. Woman and children often ill. Rooms dirty.	Mother-in-law, No. 1190.
{ 1190	"	"	67	Sweetstuff Shop	S <sup>z</sup>	12	Both were ill in 1879, and were admitted to workhouse and Sick Asylum. Applications for medicines are frequent in recent years. Sons leave home and do not help.	Daughter, S. h.
1191	"	Married	44	...	A <sup>s</sup> d	8	Had to resign deputy's place at common lodging-house through weakness. Has medicines in 1885, 1888, and 1889.	Mother, No. 1190.
{ 1192	Male	"	56	General Labourer	S <sup>u</sup> p	10		Husband, No. 202.
{ 1193	Female	"	54	...	S <sup>u</sup> p	10		
1194	"	"	69	Needlewoman	S <sup>z</sup>	4		



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